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How a government agency effected equality

The Negro and The O.P.A.

By Victoria Schuck

Associate Professor of Political Science, Mount Holyoke College and former Chief Program Analyst, O.P.A.

THE achievement of racial equality in the administration of the home front war controls—price, rationing and rent—did not just happen. The progress made in relation to America's minorities and particularly the Negro came about as a result of the efforts of many people within the Office of Price Administration from the highest policy-determining official to the individual employee. For an agency to declare a non-discriminatory policy is to be taken for granted, but the real test comes in the way that policy is carried out.

The story of Negro participation in the defense and war program may be dated from May, 1940, when the National Defense Advisory Commission was revived by Roosevelt, and the late Miss Harriet Elliott was appointed one of the seven advisers. Miss Elliott's domain, consumer protection, was broadly social in character. Her division came to consider itself responsible for the entire "home front line" or all aspects of the civilian in national defense except manpower, food production and pre-retail and pre-wholesale prices.

She recognized from the start that minorities should have a hand in the formulation of policy. To assist her in defining some of her functions, she called to Washington a small group of consultants. Louis Adamic represented the foreign population, and Miss Frances Williams, the interracial education secretary of the Y.W.C.A., spoke for the Negro.

Again, when the Consumer Protection Division, as it came to be known, undertook its first major activity in August, 1940, Negro leaders were invited to a conference in Washington of the heads of some 100 organizations. Among others, there were representatives of the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the National Business League and the Harlem Medical Center. The conference issued a pledge against racial discrimination in all aspects of the

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defense program. It also accepted the recommendation that whenever local consumer interest committees were established, representatives of all the people should be named to them.

Thus the policy of non-discrimination took root early. As the work of the division grew, Miss Elliott established a Civic Groups Section, which had the job of getting all cultural groups to participate continuously in the defense program. Each person was to have a role in the defense effort commensurate with his interest and capacity.

The staff developed special projects to enable the Negro population to understand the nation's defense activities. Problems of the Negro community were studied, and steps were taken to ensure non-discrimination in the federal defense structure. For Negro consumer interest groups throughout the country, the division prepared special publicity materials; for meetings of Negro organizations from coast to coast, it supplied staff speakers and interpreted the responsibilities of the Consumer Adviser. In turn, Negro groups, including organized labor, funneled to the division information on unusual price stipulations, housing shortages and other welfare questions.

When the President revised the defense organization and welded the Consumer and Price Stabilization Divisions into the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply in April, 1941, he brought together Leon Henderson's staff which had been working on pre-retail prices and Miss Elliott's which had been watching retail prices and rents. Within O.P.A.C.S., the program with cultural groups continued at about the same tempo. Information went out to minorities on such subjects as price control, the allocation of goods to consumers, housing, nutrition, recreation and consumer standards.

In the days following, until January 30, 1942, when Congress gave O.P.A. statutory authority, "jawbone" methods of price control, successive reorganizations, the fight for legislation, and the outbreak of war and plans for rationing occupied a major share of attention of the agency. And in the spring of 1942, the staff worked day and night to inaugurate the much needed rationing programs, to issue the General Maximum Price Regulation, and to determine the rent control areas. Non-discrimination in administration of the programs was assumed. But as the programs were executed, it became apparent that the over-all consideration given to problems of administration was inadequate when applied to minorities. Fair administration of O.P.A. programs—and they affected everyone in the country—required a special effort on the part of officials in order to compensate for the Negro consumer's economic disadvantage and for his comparative inarticulateness.

Three or four problems grew out of the speed with which O.P.A. had to be staffed and the programs begun. One concerned employment. Before the war, Negro personnel in the federal government was principally in the unskilled grades. Although Miss Elliott had brought to O.P.A.C.S., one Negro in a profes-

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sional grade and three or four in the clerical, and Henderson had early employed a Negro attorney in the Legal Division, the number of Negroes on the O.P.A. payroll remained small for some time. By the spring of 1942, there were 167 in the Washington office, and of these only nine were in the $2,000 to $4,600 salary brackets. The Personnel Branch showed no discrimination and tapped sources of qualified Negroes including colleges, professional societies and trade groups. Still, in January, 1943, the number of Negro employees in the national office was only 1½ per cent of the total. Figures available for March, 1943, on field personnel showed that Negroes in the regional and district offices comprised but 1.14 per cent of the total.

The inflation control program had the early backing of the Negro press and organizations. The rationing of sugar, gasoline, tires, and other commodities received the commendation of minorities. But the same could not be said of the enforcement of price regulations. Complaints began to arise that differentials existed in Negro neighborhoods under the price freezing order. The N.A.A.C.P. conducted a survey in Harlem in July, 1942, discovering that systematic overcharges raised the Negro's food bill 7 to 12 per cent beyond economically comparable areas in New York City. Walter White pressed the issue to Henderson and the President and urged that inequalities be corrected. Otherwise, he argued, the already economically handicapped Negro would have an added burden of more than $100,000 a year.

Almost simultaneously, the question of rents in Negro neighborhoods came to the fore. In the fall of 1942, Negro tenants waged fights for adjustments of rent scales in several cities including Columbus and Cleveland. There was also a drive in Harlem to have that area placed under rent control.

As important as any of the others was the problem which arose out of the method of setting up the local War, Price, and Rationing Boards. Time was of the essence, and quite naturally the emphasis of O.P.A. officials had been on getting local boards established. That boards would be representative of the community was assumed. But the first boards were white boards. When Negroes insisted on having a share in the administration, the next step was the creation of all-Negro boards in Negro areas. To an aspiring minority seeking the removal of discriminatory restrictions and desiring the same recognition accorded to other citizens, this was not the answer.

Meanwhile reverberations of the Jim Crow prices and boards reached Congress, and there were unsuccessful attempts in the Senate in the fall of 1942 to change O.P.A. legislation to provide specifically for non-discrimination. The agency itself was sensitive to such criticism. The national office did not have evidence in support of the price differentials in Negro communities but promised to level off ceiling prices of particular commodities for retail

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stores within a given class of outlets. The national office also gave more attention to policy statements on Negro relationships.

Henderson referred the whole question to a group of business advisers in O.P.A. which named a committee to make special studies of food prices and rent differentials and employment. The Administrator also appointed a special assistant, T. Arnold Hill, to channel the opinion of Negro groups to O.P.A. officials and to interpret O.P.A. policies to these organizations.

Apart from such special measures, the Henderson period was marked by the fact that in many quarters throughout the agency, officials high and low were working on the problem of equality. Subsequent progress grew out of their early efforts. Take the questions of employment and local boards. When Prentiss Brown succeeded Henderson early in 1943, the Negro press urged a more precise definition of racial policy. An official pronouncement via an Administrative Order was made in February, 1943: There should be no discrimination against the employment of anyone because of race, creed or national origin. Teeth for enforcement were not lacking; the Director of Personnel had the responsibility of making investigations and correcting violations. In effect, the agency was announcing its adherence to civil service rules and presidential directives.

Shortly thereafter, O.P.A. also spelled out in more detail the composition of local boards. An order was issued that boards were to represent the entire community. "When appropriate," the order declared, "membership should include a housewife and members from labor, agriculture, business, the professions and consumers, and various minority and racial groups."

To execute these orders required still more time, and it was not until Chester Bowles' administration that Negro employment reached a peak. The agency increasingly appointed personnel on the basis of merit. In the Negro press in 1944, O.P.A. along with F.E.P.C. gained the reputation of being the fairest of the federal agencies. During the war years, there was a shift in the nature of the jobs held by Negro personnel in the federal government. The majority were no longer in custodial work but were in the clerical grades. This was true in O.P.A. But significantly enough, O.P.A. selected Negroes for its professional jobs, ranging from section heads to attorneys, economists and information officers. Negroes were also named to the Labor and the Consumer Advisory Committees. An incident probably unique in federal personnel annals occurred in connection with O.P.A.'s promotion policy. A branch chief was removed because he had discriminated against Negro employees in making promotions. The union preferred charges, and his dismissal came after hearings before an agency committee.

In March, 1945, 13 per cent of the national office staff were Negroes and more than two per cent of the field personnel, excluding local board employees. Those regions with central offices in New York, Chicago and Cleveland had the largest num-

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ber respectively. Of the Negroes in the Washington office, five per cent were receiving $3,200 or better.

Before V-E Day, Bowles instituted plans to obtain more Negro volunteers on price and rationing panels in the local boards. By April, 1945, there were 687 Negroes serving in various sections of the country. And all regions could point to some participation of Negroes on boards before the European war ended. Washington, D. C., had the largest number with 12 per cent Negroes; Richmond, Virginia, was next with 6.2 per cent; Detroit followed with 3.9 per cent; and New York was fourth with 2.3 per cent. Who served? Housewives, members of labor unions, and clerical and professional persons.

As his special assistant on racial relations, Bowles, in the autumn of 1944, named Miss Frances Williams who had been on the information staff of O.P.A. Her office was watchful of the lag in making O.P.A. programs work in respect to the Negro and other minorities. Her job was not that of special pleader but was to make sure that the regular process of government applied to Negroes as to other people. The Administrator placed the responsibility of ensuring non-discrimination on the price, rationing, rent and information program heads. Miss Williams emphasized compliance in Negro areas and sought the assistance of Negroes in support of O.P.A. programs.

Progress in securing equality in administration was marked during the 10 or 11 months before the war's end. For instance, the idea of a survey of rents in Negro areas had been contemplated as early as the fall of 1943. Finally in November, 1944, representatives of the Rent, Information, and Enforcement Departments were able to agree upon a plan. Door-to-door rental surveys of all low income neighborhoods in Bridgeport, Newark, Louisville, Norfolk, Houston and Minneapolis were made. Not only were the surveys popular, but they revealed numerous violations and stimulated increased registration of rental units.

Another illustration might be drawn from the field of rationing and price compliance generally. In the spring of 1945, the important program heads met with Bowles to consider where compliance had broken down in relation to minorities and especially the Negro population. They concluded that better enforcement at the retail level was needed. They also felt that an information campaign should be inaugurated to let people know what remedies were available when overcharges occurred.

To reach the Negro public, the Information Department had specialists working with Negro organizations, educators, and the press. More than 200 Negro newspapers were serviced with stories of O.P.A. regulations. For areas where Negroes had little or no access to newspapers or the radio and where schools were the chief medium for information, the staff supplied special materials to state supervisors of Negro education. Over 100 presidents of Negro colleges, deans, department heads and leaders of edu-

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cational associations also cooperated in disseminating information.

As the non-discriminatory principles of the agency became known, Negro organizations and the press began to speak in terms of identifying their own interests with the purposes of the agency. When question of renewal of the Price Control Act came before congressional committees, their spokesmen appeared on behalf of extension.

The assistant's office did not overlook the needs of other minorities. There were the problems of the Mexican and the Indian in the Southwest, the Chinese in California, the Nisei who returned to the coast. Wherever the assistant could aid in the disposition of language or other questions of administration, she did so.

Finally O.P.A. took the leadership in fostering the application of non-discriminatory principles among the permanent federal departments. This championship of employment resulted from O.P.A.'s policy of informing its personnel of other possible jobs as reductions in force took place and the agency began to be liquidated. The Administrator called the attention of the Civil Service Commission and the President's assistant to the practices. The President reminded all agencies of their obligation to administer fairly.

What conclusions are suggested by O.P.A.'s experience? The vast decentralization to the field offices meant that progress toward equality in administration was greater in some sections of the country than in others. The Negro personnel made a substantial contribution to the agency in many positions of responsibility. Too, it became apparent that to accomplish the same for a minority as for the majority, special attention was sometimes required in administration. O.P.A. discovered as did Alice that "it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!"

All things are simple when you analyze them. What is a rattlesnake but an eel with a crap game going on the rear?

—*Alliance Times-Herald*

* * *

A manufacturer had carefully put up placards in his plant warning his women employees to "Be Careful!" Nevertheless, many were injured in the 5:00 P. M. rush for the stairs. He lowered his accident rate by installing full length mirrors on the stair landings.

* * *

On her honeymoon the bride had gone shopping, and after coming back to the hotel, she had gotten off the elevator at the wrong floor. She went down the corridor until she reached what she supposed was the door of her room. Having no key, she knocked and called out softly: "Honey, oh, Honey." Getting no response, she called again more loudly. After several more calls, a male voice roared out from within: "Madam, this is not a beehive, it's a bathroom!"

—*Cappers Weekly*

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What has happened
to the evacuees on the coast

The Japanese Came Back

By Ed Ritter

Teacher, Journalist

"GIVE us one more year," says pretty 16-year-old Rose Shibata, of Los Angeles, "and things will be just about as good as they were before the evacuation. The Caucasion girls at school wave and say 'Hi' like they used to and a few of the Nisei kids are being elected to school offices again. There aren't any more of those ugly scenes like that morning on the streetcar when the man tried to make the conductor put us girls off and called us 'dirty Japs'."

Of the many shades of optimism held by the 67,500 Japanese-Americans[1] who have returned to the West Coast since their war-time exile, Rose's outlook for next year appears to be average. The degree to which the future will bear it out depends on the West Coast's answers to such questions as:

Can Japanese-Americans' determination to break down the "Little Tokyo" and "Jap Town" pattern withstand the impact of restrictive covenants and similar forces making for such revivals?

The West's answer and the validity of Rose Shibata's hope for next year have a striking relevance to America's right to self respect. For Rose is one of the 112,353 persons who were evacuated from their West Coast homes in 1942 because they or their parents or grandparents are Japanese.

Over 70,000 of the evacuees were American citizens. Victims of what was probably the most appalling violation of civil liberties in American history, these citizens—along with the Japanese aliens whom the United States had excluded from citizenship—were thrown into concentration camps without a specific charge of disloyalty or subversive activity being established against them.

Organized rivals of Japanese-American farmers and shippers capitalized on war hysteria in launching a successful campaign for evacuation immediately after Pearl Harbor. The sensationalist press screamed palpable lies about Japanese-American sabotage in Hawaii. Typical of Hearst and McClatchy newsmen, Henry McLemore wrote in the *San Francisco Examiner* on January 29, 1942:

"Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give 'em the inside room in the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry, and dead up against it . . ."

Westbrook Pegler cried, "To hell with habeas corpus . . ."

Even the United State Army's

[1]The term *Japanese-Americans,* as used throughout this article, denotes first, second and third generation Japanese in America.

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report that no act of sabotage had been committed by resident Japanese either in Hawaii or on the mainland was interpreted by Western Defense Command's General DeWitt to be "a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken."

With the official explanation that there was no time to ascertain the loyalty of Japanese-Americans, the Army proceeded with an 11-month-long process of evacuation. "Commercial buzzards" cleaned up as evacuees tried to sell everything they couldn't carry. Frank Taylor, in *Colliers,* estimated their financial loss at $50,000,000. (Whether the United States will compensate the evacuees for such loss will be decided by Congressional action on the pending evacuation claims bill.)

THE W.R.A.

The War Relocation Authority, an unattached presidential agency, was charged with the responsibility of providing the evacuees with "the minimum essentials of living . . . and opportunities for self support." Euphemistically calling the 10 concentration camps "relocation centers" and the evacuees "colonists," W.R.A. launched its difficult task.

Much of its rapidly formed staff was "stereotype-minded." (Evacuees were Japanese first and people secondarily.) However, thanks to the people-minded staff members—especially in the W.R.A. national administration—it can be said in retrospect that the program was carried out with humanity and wisdom.

Despite demoralizing barbed wire fences, armed guards, watch towers, and $12 to $19 monthly wages for a 48-hour work week—evacuees were pathetically determined to "make the best of it." School children in overcoats, holding their assemblies out-of-doors because there was no auditorium, spiritedly sang "The Star Spangled Banner" while cold blustery wind blew sand and dust in their faces.

Director Milton Eisenhower, in his testimony before the House Subcommittee on Finance, said: "I just cannot say things too favorable about the way the evacuees have cooperated under the most adverse circumstances." His successor, Dillon Myer, paid like tribute.

When Nisei were allowed to volunteer for the armed services, 20,000 of them, including Hawaiian Nisei, joined up. Their famous 442nd Regimental Combat Team has been called the most decorated in the war. "The Nisei have bought an awful big chunk of America with their blood," said General Joseph Stillwell.

By December, 1944, when the Army rescinded its West Coast exclusion orders in keeping with a Supreme Court ruling, W.R.A. had permitted 35,000 evacuees to resettle in other regions. In two new volumes, sociologists Thomas and Nishimoto describe this group as *Salvage* from evacuation. *Spoilage* is their account of the 5,100 evacuees whose failure to adjust to wartime treatment caused them to renounce United States citizenship—or, in the case of the Issei, to request repatriation. Although making them forever "ineligible for citizen-

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ship," the Justice Department has released 3,000 of the renunciants who have sought to reverse their decision.

A large majority of the evacuees who were sitting it out in camps in 1945 were waiting for permission to return to the West Coast. Their old enemies revived the hate campaign. Virtually every town broke out with a rash of "Slap the Jap" and "No Japs Wanted" posters. Hearst and McClatchy were heard from again. When the first exiles returned, 80 some violent incidents were reported. Unreported hoodlum attacks in Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo"—which had become Negro "Bronzeville"—were carried out nightly.

Every practical consideration pointed toward resettlement in other sections. Evacuees who had done so reported that their race had been no handicap in starting business or securing preferred employment. The advice of W.R.A., the evacuees' only friend at hand, was overwhelmingly on the side of such relocation.

But by last month 60 per cent of the Pacific Coast's Japanese-Americans were back. Reverend Arnold Nakajima, who is in charge of the only remaining resettlement hostel out of the 67 that operated last year on the Coast, concedes the practical advantages of Eastern relocation. He explains the paradox by saying: "It's a sentimental journey that we took. This is home. Why just yesterday I went to the birthday party of a 93-year-old Issei who had lived here for 70 years before the evacuation."

It is the Issei, of course, whose sentimental attachment to their old localities is strongest. Often their Nisei sons and daughters returned to care for them. (Japanese are ineligible for old age pensions in California.)

The "sentimental journey" is now two to three years in the past for most Pacific Coast returnees. Several trends significant for this minority's future in America are emerging: (1) Lucrative incomes and mounting prestige as employees are inspiring Japanese-Americans with new confidence. (2) Nisei are changing from farm to urban dwellers. (3) The Japanese-American will to avoid the pre-war Japanese ghetto is running head-on into restrictive covenants and other devisive forces.

The first trend has been the direct result of uncommon pluck and industry on the part of the returnees.

Gardeners had to rebuild routes from scratch. With an eye to their own public relations problems and employee relations, employers were at first most hesitant to hire the victims of so much adverse war-time publicity. So dogmatically does the race-conscious Pacific Coast carry prejudices into the employment office that a U.S.E.S. official resigned his Los Angeles post in disgust last spring. Ninety per cent of all requests for employees were accompanied by strings as to what races were not acceptable, he declared.

Hard-working and dependable, the Japanese-American is making a remarkable economic come-back despite employment prejudice. Gardeners are making $250 to $500 monthly—some contractors much

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more. Fred Fertig, Japanese-American Citizens' League executive secretary, reports that his office daily receives an increasing number of calls for Japanese-American employees. More college-trained Nisei are being allowed to enter fields appropriate to their training than was the case before the war.

Especially fortunate in this respect are Nisei women. Thirty of them are now employed by the Los Angeles Board of Education. Recently four of the seven stenographers in the Los Angeles City Attorney's office were Nisei girls. A Los Angeles beauty parlor experimentally employed a Nisei beautician; six months later all six of its beauticians were Nisei. They are cashiers and receptionists in the most fashionable dress shops, department stores and eating places.

Japanese-American business men, however, still find the good economics of bad race-relations asserting itself. As of late August, 25 per cent of the pre-war number of Japanese-American business and professional men in the Los Angeles area were established. Says Bob Kurata, Southern California produce buyer: "Every time I line up a new seller in a rural town, my competitors are right there on him with, 'What do ya want to sell your produce to a Jap for?' For many of them, that's pretty compelling logic."

The second trend—Japanese-American urbanization—can be accounted for chiefly by the bitter rural resistance to the return of formidable competition. Renowned as good farmers, Japanese-American growers had produced from 30 per cent to 35 per cent of California's truck crop in pre-war days. In strawberries, fresh snap beans and celery, they had held a virtual monopoly.

Now only 150 Japanese-Americans farm in the rich Imperial Valley where there were once many thousand. Such "hot spots" as the Salinas area are virtually closed. In the three leading urban centers for Japanese-Americans on the Coast, the percentage of returnees is well above the over-all 60 per cent population comeback. (San Francisco and Los Angeles, 80 per cent; Seattle, 67 per cent.) Nisei realtors say many country-dwellers are trying to acquire urban situations and semi-urban acreages.

CHANGES

There are, however, some bright spots on the rural scene. There are more Japanese-Americans farming in the Santa Clara Valley than in pre-war days. Assisted in resettlement by resident Mennonites, Japanese-American agriculturalists in the Dinuba, California, area are more than double their pre-war number.

Coast-wide boycotts against the returnees' products are well in the past. Bumper crops and high prices made it a big year for the 1,600 Nisei who own farms and for the 4,000 to 4,500 Japanese-Americans who were able to regain leases.

Although social discrimination in the rural areas is diminishing, it is still painfully present. Nisei are denied rooms and restaurant service in some towns. Although probably not much more prevalent than before the war, this treatment is sharply

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resented by Nisei veterans no longer willing to accommodate themselves to second-rate citizenship.

The impetus of the into-the-city trend among Nisei will be largely determined by the outcome of the current race between new Pacific Coast industrial development and the tremendous population influx into the region. If the industrial development keeps ahead, the Nisei can be depended upon to overcome employment discrimination eventually and claim their share of economic opportunities in the cities.

The final development—the desperate, frustrated effort on the part of Nisei to assimilate themselves culturally into American society—is the most significant of the three.

Inside the limitations of restrictive covenants, Japanese-Americans in the urban areas have become as widely scattered geographically as appears possible. They are much farther apart than ever before.

Frank Suyenaga, Los Angeles realtor, was recently asked to estimate how many out of every 10 Nisei clients registered a definite preference to rent or buy away from the Japanese section of the city. "That's easy," he said promptly, "ten out of ten."

But their preference doesn't usually count. Less than 25 per cent of Los Angeles' residential area is open to Japanese-Americans. Such especially desirable sections as the San Fernando Valley are invariably closed. Even in the better unrestricted sections, real estate owners often unofficially prevent any nonwhite from buying.

Even death cannot be depended upon to crack the restrictive codes. Recently an Issei was interred in a Los Angeles Caucasion cemetery because his Caucasion widow had left race out of her reckoning in making funeral arrangements. When proper authorities learned of the error, the body had to be dug up and removed.

While most of the businesses in Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo" are back in Japanese-American hands, it now appears likely that the district will never again become the homogeneous self-contained community that it once was. Virtually all of the enterprises are operated by the Issei. Whereas the section was the recreational and cultural center for Los Angeles Japanese-Americans before the war, Nisei now take pains not to congregate there.

It is safe to conclude that Japanese-Americans on the Coast are fully as determined to become well assimilated citizens as the race bigots and unscrupulous interests are to prevent it. With the democratizing influence of the unsegregated public school and such vital Pacific Coast agencies as The International Institute and The Committee for Christian Democracy, the Nisei's chances are good.

Five years have passed and the West Coast cannot yet answer. But, as Rose Shibata says, perhaps next year things will be about like they were before the evacuation.

Pessimist: One who would commit suicide if he could do it without killing himself.

—Carbon Copy

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Senators debate the Kilgore Amendment

Federal or State Control of Scientific Research?

THERE is always a conflict between the men who put their faith in experts and the men who distrust the growth of power. Sometimes this conflict can be used for private purposes by men who want to accomplish aims of their own.

While the Kilgore Amendment to the Bill to establish a National Science Foundation was being debated in the Senate,[1] Senator Taft said: "If we wish to develop a scientific environment we had better give all the power to 24 scientists and let them handle the entire matter." This is the obvious decision of the man interested in efficiency.

Senator O'Mahoney, on the other hand, feared that the proposed committee of 24 scientists would, like so many other committees, be dominated by its steering committee which in turn would be dominated by the executive director of the N.S.F. This is the inevitable reaction of the man who fears the growth of power and is just as characteristic as the reaction of Senator Taft.

It seems obvious to men who, like Senator Taft put efficiency first, that we should go to the great centers of research, find out what they want and give it to them.

It seems equally obvious to men who, like Senator O'Mahoney distrust power, that this method will be unsuccessful. Inevitably they think research will be concentrated in a few hands. The immediate advantage gained will be offset by the loss sustained through not giving the men who are working by themselves in smaller institutions the chance to develop.

The best way to get immediate results is usually by going to the best men you know and asking them to solve your problems as quickly as possible. This was the method used to develop the Atom Bomb. This is the method Senator Taft suggests.

On the other hand, many, if not most, great scientific discoveries have been made by men who do not follow the beaten path and by men who sometimes have been unknown until long after their death when the value of their work is recognized. Senator O'Mahoney wants to try to find such men and help them with their work.

Some Senators fear "politics" in science. Some want to be sure that they will know which party will dominate the Foundation. Some fear that the program will be too costly; some that it will be inadequate. The Kilgore Amendment was defeated. The Bill passed. The President vetoed it.

[1] *Congressional Record, Senate,* Vol. 93, No. 92, pp. 5474-5483; No. 93, pp. 5536-5541.

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The *Presiding Officer*. The clerk will state the amendment.

"SEC. 12. Of the funds appropriated to the Foundation for research and development activities (excluding funds expressly appropriated for national defense), not less than 25 per cent shall be apportioned among the states as follows: One-fourth shall be apportioned among the states in equal shares, and the remainder shall be apportioned among the states in the proportion that their respective populations bear to the population of all the states, determined according to the last preceding decennial census; of the amount apportioned to each state at least one-half shall be expended only for carrying on research and development activities in the facilities of tax-supported colleges and universities, including the land-grant colleges, within such state pursuant to contracts or other financial arrangements made by the Foundation under this section. The balance of the amount for each state shall be expended only in non-profit colleges or universities in the states. In making such contracts or other financial arrangements, the Foundation shall give each individual institution the widest latitude in its selection of individual research and development projects but the Foundation shall not be required to expend funds in any institution unless it submits proposals for the expenditure of such funds which the Foundation finds to be consistent with such general program and standards as it may, after receiving the advice of the Board, establish in order to carry out the objectives and provisions of this act. For purposes of this section, the term 'state' includes Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico."

Mr. Kilgore. Mr. President, before the vote is taken, I desire to discuss the amendment briefly. As I stated before, the primary purpose of the pending bill is the development of competent research workers, with a view to the research work they will do, and the resultant benefits to both American and world civilization. In order to accomplish that purpose, there must be a wider distribution of activities under the bill. A greater number of research institutions must be developed.

The purpose of the proposed amendment is to assure the development of institutions where young men and young women may receive proper training to qualify them in scientific research, whether the students receive the training under scholarships or as the result of working to obtain the necessary funds with which to attend the schools.

The agricultural colleges have been greatly benefited by the tremendous strides made by the Department of Agriculture in the development of its program. They have cooperated with state educational institutions in developing scientific farmers—young farmers, if Senators please—who have stepped up the production on farms of the United States. The pending measure will extend that type of service in the fields of industry, public health and various other fields. The number of institutions carrying on this type of work must be expanded. If the bill becomes a "pork barrel," by which a few people hand out money to institutions with which they care to deal, we shall have conditions similar to those which were experienced in the war. I am not criticizing anyone, but the government agencies had a very limited number of institutions with which to deal. I received constant complaints from engineering colleges throughout the United States and state universities that they could not obtain a part of the research work distributed

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by the War Department, or by the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and that all such work was being done in a small, hand-picked group of schools, four or five or six of them at the most.

We were handicapped during the war and, while I received many complaints, the departments were always able to answer that only at a certain limited number of places were there people who were qualified by training to carry on the particular work. I want to see such training carried on in every state in the Union.

The wartime policy was based upon the necessity of accomplishing a great deal in a very short space of time. The proposed program is calculated to accomplish a great deal, but in a much longer time. Therefore, the procedure which was found necessary in time of war should not be considered necessary in connection with the proposed National Science Foundation. Every institution that cares to participate in the program should be allowed to do so.

STATE DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Taft. The only thing in connection with the Senator's amendment to which I object is that it departs from the theory of establishing the best possible research plan we can establish. Take the cancer division which is proposed to be placed under the National Foundation. So far as I can understand, the general opinion is that there are not more than 10 institutions in the United States sufficiently equipped to do substantial work in the field of cancer. That means that 38 states would not come under the cancer provision. I do not know in which states the 10 institutions are, but if we are concerned about getting the best possible research development it seems to me we must go to those places which are adequately equipped with personnel and technical equipment, but particularly, personnel. If Senators insist upon state by state distribution it seems to me that a very large part of the money will be wasted which should be used for the development of a general research program.

Mr. Kilgore. I want to say to the distinguished Senator from Ohio that I appreciate the sincerity of his suggestion, but I should like to call one historical fact to his attention. When we were young I believe everyone in the northern part of the United States, when something became seriously wrong with him, went to Johns Hopkins in Baltimore to have his case diagnosed. Later there was a school established in Louisiana known as Tulane University, which had a couple of large hospitals connected with it, and many persons, when they became ill, went to the hospitals connected with Tulane University. Then a couple of brothers by the name of Mayo built a clinic in Minnesota. We heard about the Mayo Clinic, and people started going there. Then the University of Virginia gradually built up, and people began to go to hospitals in Charlottesville, as the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Robertson] knows. In the home town of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft], there grew up the Cleveland Clinic. All this shows that such programs spread with proper opportunity.

Mr. President, this bill does not provide an arbitrary distribution of all funds. It is not arbitrary in the least. It provides that 25 per cent of certain types of funds shall be distributed in order to make sure that every school has an opportunity to do what it can do best, and to develop itself in that field, so as to obtain the distribution we need. If we are to rely on doing all our engineering at

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M.I.T., if another war comes along all the enemy will have to do will be to blow up M.I.T., and we shall be out of the war. If we limit it to M.I.T. and the Sheffield School at Yale, we shall be in the same difficulty. We might branch out and limit it to M.I.T., Sheffield, Harvard, and Princeton. We would still be in trouble.

As was well stated by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. McFarland], every state has scientific and technical problems. The problems of my state lie in the field of coal, oil, natural gas and related matters requiring geological research, investigation of various sands, and so forth. A great deal of excellent research work can be done in that state along those lines.

The State of Kentucky is in the same situation. The State of Florida is interested in a number of things. All the states have programs which they can further. This amendment provides one thing to which I wish to call attention. We do not arbitrarily dish out the money to the schools and states. We do not arbitrarily hand them so much and say, "Do as you please with this. This is only a little subsidy." Under the terms of the amendment, which is carefully worded, the institution involved must first submit to the scientists a comprehensive project and program, showing what they can do by way of research, and how much money will be required. Then and then only, can they be assigned definite work to do, a definite part of the program.

In a program such as cancer research, the Senator's amendment would not require that even 25 per cent of the cancer funds be distributed among all the states. That is an over-all requirement as to the entire program. I think a somewhat fuller answer is required.

I think the Senator is quite right as to the part of the program designed to achieve immediate results in the way of physical inventions or discoveries; but equally important is the development of further facilities. As I conceive this program, I am sure that that is part of it, as indicated by the provision for scholarships, study, and so forth. That part of the program is not designed to produce immediately a new bomb or a new kind of nuclear fission. A very important part of the program is to give an opportunity to talented people in many parts of the country who cannot attend the large institutions. Within the past month I have received numerous requests for assistance in getting constituents into large schools. I am sure that other Senators have had similar requests. I have received several with respect to M.I.T. I received one today for Columbia.

No one will deny that the genius of this country is that brains can be found anywhere, in any part of the country. It is true that in past years, after a person had been discovered to have conspicuous abilities, the tendency was to drift into the larger communities where the rewards were greater. I think that is true today. But it is very difficult to continue that process.

It seems to me that it is important, for the long-term future, to provide an opportunity to discover and bring to the fore unusually gifted individuals in the states. I would not favor a program under which all the funds must be divided in this way; but the restriction applies to only 25 per cent, with the further proviso that if a state presents a program, that program may still be turned down as not being acceptable.

Mr. Taft. Let us assume that the appropriation will be $20,000,000 the

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first year. Perhaps that is all that can be used from year to year. The $20,000,000 is to be divided into little pieces. This organization is not to be engaged in research in general. It will confine itself to particular subjects of research; and to conduct research into those particular subjects it will be necessary to go to the particular places where there are scientists who know something about the particular subjects. If it is desired to train workers in a particular field, they must be sent to the places where there are those who know something about that subject. The $20,000,000 would be divided into many small pieces. Twenty-five per cent of $20,000,000 is $5,000,000. By the time we are through, many states may be entitled to only $10,000. For what? It will not be a bit of help in the particular research in which the Foundation is then engaged. It will be that much money thrown away.

The purpose is not to build up a great many colleges all over the United States or enable them to increase their facilities. This country is in need of research development in connection with the different problems which it wishes to solve. In the case of half the states, the money for particular projects, so far as the interest the Foundation has in them is concerned, would be wasted.

Mr. Aiken. Mr. President, if this work is worth doing—and I think that all of us agree that it is—it is worth doing well. The fault is not to be found in the method of allocating the funds as proposed by the Senator from West Virginia and others, including myself, but in the total inadequacy of the amount provided. I certainly should hope that in such an important matter as this, on which the fate of this country and the welfare of its people may depend, we will not be niggardly in the future in appropriating for this purpose. I do not believe that the work can adequately be done for $20,000,000, but I think that is much better than nothing at all, which is what we have today. I believe we should provide an adequate appropriation, possibly eventually 10 times $20,000,000. When it comes to passing along the amount allocated to the state colleges and other colleges where the work is more concentrated, it should be sufficient to contribute materially to the objective which we seek, which is the highest development of scientific research, particularly basic research.

BASIC RESEARCH

Mr. Smith. I want to try to iron out what seems to be the confusion which seems to have arisen in the discussion at the moment. I am a member of the committee along with the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken] and I share with him the feeling that all our young people must be given equality of opportunity in educational areas. This bill has not that objective. It is primarily a bill providing for basic research in the sciences, to find the projects in the field of science which should be pursued in the national welfare. We have discussed the matter for two years. We have provided for scholarships and fellowships to be awarded by a special division of the Foundation in any part of the United States where promising young scientists appear. We have had the question up time and time again, and we finally decided that the way to deal with it was to have a Foundation of sufficient size, whose members should be appointed by the President, that would represent all corners of the country, so that the Foundation would be able to determine where the basic projects were and where were the promising young scientists.

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Therefore in Section three of the bill it is provided specifically that—

The President is requested, in the making of nominations of persons for appointment as members, to give due consideration to any recommendations for nomination which may be submitted to him by the National Academy of Sciences—

This is the important point—

Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, the National Association of State Universities, or by other scientific or educational organizations.

We felt that the best way to deal with the question which we are discussing now was to put the responsibility on a group of eminent persons—they are not all scientists; some are in public affairs—who would search the country over from one end to the other to discover what are the basic steps in science which should be pursued and subsidized by the government, and, secondly, to locate promising young persons who should be given the aid needed in order to develop science.

I submit that we have come to the right decision in not making the distribution on a State-wide basis and putting the responsibility in the group which the President appoints to make the selection both of projects and of the young people we want to train in this field.

I think that is the main issue in this immediate discussion, and I cannot see the justification for feeling that through this bill we should try to aid institutions all over the nation, much as I favor that. We are dealing with that question in other bills in other ways. This bill is aimed to develop basic research in fundamental science.

There is one provision to which I should like to call attention in this connection. It was suggested by the Senator from Utah [Mr Thomas], who is greatly interested in the subject and who is not here today. We wrote into the bill, on pages 18 and 19, at his suggestion, this paragraph which I should like to read in order to show that we were carrying through the idea of finding areas of research.

Paragraph (h) of Section 15 reads as follows:

(h) In making contracts or other arrangements for scientific research, the Foundation shall utilize appropriations available therefore in such manner as will in its discretion best realize the objectives of (1) having the work performed by organizations, agencies, and institutions or individuals, including Government agencies, qualified by training and experience to achieve the results desired, (2) strengthening the research staff of organizations, particularly nonprofit organizations, in the states and territories and the District of Columbia, (3) aiding institutions, agencies or organizations which if aided will advance further research, and (4) encourage the growth of independent research by individuals.

PRIVATE GAIN

Mr. Kilgore. Mr. President, I am deeply grateful that I have finally "smoked out" the ultimate objective of the proponents of the bill, which strengthens my efforts to have these amendments adopted. I say to you, Mr. President, the opinion that has just been stated by the Senator from New Jersey is not the opinion which prevails in the colleges and universities and among the educators of the United States, and the representation the Senator from New Jersey has just made is not the one which has been made to them by Dr. Bush or Dr. Conant or Dr. Bowman or various other of our outstanding scientists. The aim and purpose which have been stated by the Senator from New Jersey are not the ultimate aim and purpose of the Foundation as represented to the public at large. If

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the ultimate aim and purpose are as stated by the Senator from New Jersey, then the pending bill, if enacted, will represent the biggest steal that has ever been perpetrated, and I say that advisedly. If the results of the research and invention that are to be carried on and developed by the use of government funds are to be patented for private gain, what will the results be? There has been no resistance to any proposed prohibition against the taking out of private patents based on the results of the proposed research. Also, Mr. President, what will we do when the research men of today, whom we now favor so much, die? Where will the new group of scientists come from? Are we to presume that the brains of this world are to be found only in a few places? I admit that some people think so, but I deny it.

Mr. President, the proposal is that only 25 per cent of the total fund be used for the development of scientists who will carry on a long-range program. Apparently, we are still proceeding under the impetus of some war thoughts which made the National Academy of Sciences ineffective, and made the Research Council of World War I ineffective, and made the Office of Scientific Research and Development ineffective in the last war, because those organizations sought results in the way of inventions.

Mr. President, I hope and pray that the Congress of the United States is not simply trying to have certain inventions and discoveries made. I do not think that is what we should seek to achieve. I think our principal objective is to develop a group of scientists who will be able to make inventions and discoveries. I think we should treat fairly these allegedly incompetent state educational institutions which some persons seek to discredit and disqualify. If I were to propose that 25 per cent of the fund be given to the states, I would be doing exactly what some persons claim as the purpose of the bill—namely, to give these funds to a few selected groups.

Mr. President, the Senators who now are opposed to my views admit there will be no general participation. As a result, we now can see that if they have their way, there will be no general distribution in regard to the membership of the proposed boards. If that is the purpose of this measure, I shall join in the war cry of the Senators on the other side of the aisle in 1946, who shouted to the high heavens, "No more subsidies"—because, if those on the other side of this issue have their way, all this bill will provide will be a subsidy for present profit, rather than a fund to be used to build up a cadre and personnel of scientists who can make real progress in the advancement of science for the United States, to make and keep the United States the outstanding Nation of the world in respect to scientific progress and invention. Mr. President, such progress will not be made if we begin by looking for a few new drugs or a few doorbells or some new mouse traps or a new rat poison or a few new serums; for, under a similar procedure, later on we would find, as we did during the last war, that we had obsolete tanks and obsolete airplanes. In the last war, the only thing that saved us, and that was not obsolete, was the American boy.

Now we are trying to win the peace and to build up a peaceful army of scientists. If we confine to one or two institutions the recruiting depots for that army, God help the United States of America, Mr. President. If in connection with this bill, we depart from the proper policy and

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principle, we shall have deceived the honest scientific societies and educational societies, so far as this bill is concerned, and we shall have foisted upon the American people an improper thing.

So, Mr. President, I desire to move the adoption of this amendment.

Mr. Taft. The Senator from West Virginia, as I understood him, stated that by not distributing the proposed fund to all the states the promising students in certain states will not receive proper consideration. Mr. President, let us consider this matter realistically. For instance, let us consider a student in a university in the State of Vermont, to which the Senator from Vermont has referred. Let us assume that the student is one whom the Government seeks to train in medical sciences. Then the question should be, What is the best way to make him a research man in medical sciences? The obvious answer, in all probability, is that he should not be left in the State of Vermont, but should be sent to Johns Hopkins or to one of half a dozen leading medical schools in the United States. That, of course, is where the boy himself would wish to go. If he wanted to become a research man in the physical sciences, he would wish to go to the University of California or to one of half dozen other outstanding institutions which deal with that particular field; and a similar situation would apply to other fields. Such a procedure would not be discrimination.

On the other hand, if instead of following that procedure, an attempt were made to build up in Vermont a research medical institution where he could be taught to be a research man, and if corresponding attempts were made in all the other states of the Union, the total cost would be 100 times as much, and in the long run the education such a young man received would not be the education and training he wished to have.

My whole purpose in connection with this bill is the establishment of environment, and now the question is whether it will be a scientific environment or a political environment. That is the main issue which is presented by the amendments of the Senator from West Virginia. If we are going to do this job on a scientific basis, then we wish to subsidize the institutions in which there is the possibility of making the fundamental discoveries and research which are provided for in this bill.

Similarly, in the case of the other amendments, it seems to me that if we wish to develop a scientific environment we had better give all the power to the 24 scientists and let them handle the entire matter. I am in favor of keeping scientists out of politics, but I also am in favor of keeping politicians out of science; and that is the main issue which is presented by the amendments offered by the Senator from West Virginia.

We shall waste the money if we try to have the program handled on a political, pork-barrel basis of having so much disbursed in each state. Personally, I do not care whether Ohio gets any of the money, unless Ohio has an institution which is outstanding in some particular field for which funds are requested.

Mr. Aiken. I should like to say to the Senator from Ohio that the boys and girls of Vermont and other states can study medical research at the medical college of the University of Vermont just as well as they can at New Haven or at Boston or at Baltimore or anywhere else; in fact, some of the greatest physicians and surgeons of the United States have been educated at the University of Vermont. I realize that 75 per cent

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of the amount sought to be appropriated under the bill and under the amendment may be given to half a dozen medical colleges or scientific schools, but I do want the other 25 per cent to be made available to provide opportunity for the young people of rural areas, who in many cases are just as scientifically minded as are young people in the cities.

Mr. Kilgore. I wish to say to the Senator from Ohio that while I appreciate the fact that he admits that perhaps Vermont might have something good to teach, and West Virginia might not have anything to teach, what he complains of is taken out of the bill by the amendment. I do not want the trial-and-error method adopted, requiring the institutions to be certified, and then the projects which can best pay be listed, and the money set aside for those projects and those projects only.

NATIONAL VIEWPOINT

Mr. Fulbright. With regard to the observations of the Senator from Vermont, I do not really look upon what is proposed as something for the benefit of Vermont, or of Arkansas, or of any other state. I really believe it is very important that access be afforded to these various institutions from the point of view of the national problem. In other words, it is the nation as a whole from which the brains will come. I do not know that it is of any particular benefit to Vermont, as Vermont, as much as it is to the whole nation. It is an integral part of the national program that access be afforded to the brains of Vermont in this direct way.

The important thing is to make Vermont available to the program. I think every state has some program, or at least a prospect of some program.

It occurred to me, while the Senator was talking, that many years ago a young Jew came to Arkansas from abroad, and while he is on the pay roll of the university, the general education board has supplied him funds for experimentation in nutrition, in which he uses white rats, and he has become one of the greatest authorities in that particular field. It is a small operation, involving, if I recall correctly, about $6,000 a year, furnished by the Board, which finances the purchase of the rats which are the subject of the experiments. I think a little money, such as the Senator from Ohio mentioned, can do much in many special cases all over the United States.

What the Senator has in mind is the development of another atomic bomb or another proximity fuse. That is one phase, I grant, but a very special phase, and I do not see that that is the only phase, or even the most important one.

Furthermore, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft] spoke about not wanting any politics in this undertaking. There certainly was politics in the development of the atomic bomb. If it had not been for politicians in the Senate and politicians in the White House we would not have had the Atomic Bomb. As one of the best politicians in the world from any point of view, I do not see why the Senator from Ohio would so object to politicians having something to do with the program. I think politicians have added a great deal to the vigor of such programs, both in wartime and in peacetime.

Mr. Taft. I do not think there was any politics in the development of the Atomic Bomb.

I think that under the committee bill I shall be relieved very largely of any responsibility to get money for Ohio as against some other state.

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Mr. Fulbright. I do not think Senators should approach the matter in that spirit. I do not think they do. We have had the land-grant colleges for 75 years, and nobody bothers us about getting money for them. They do not bother me; they have had assistance for many years.

Mr. Magnuson. Mr. President, it seems to me Senators are becoming unduly excited about the amendment. A similar provision was included in the bill last year. What the Senator from Ohio said is true, or it might be true if the great over-all projects could be left in the hands of the Foundation.

POLITICS

Mr. Taft. I think it is bad if we are in a position where we have to claim money for our states. If a certain amount is to be allocated to Ohio, I will have every college in Ohio after me to get the director, or the President, who would control the director under the proposed amendment, to get money for my state. That is politics.

Mr. Fulbright. The Senator from Ohio has just said any Senator who is a member of the Committee on Appropriations will be approached.

Senators will be asked to see that the Appropriations Committee acts. They are not going to get away from their responsibility as Members of the Senate, one way or the other.

My remarks particularly are directed to the administrative features of the bill. If we insulate the organization from all influence of public men—if Senators do not like the word "politicians," let us say "statesmen"—if we attempt to prevent any statesman of the Congress or of the executive branch having anything to do with the matter, it seems to me we go too far.

I do not think the Senator himself feels that because we, in this body, or the Executive, might have some influence, it is necessarily bad.

Mr. Kilgore. If there were to be the over-all projects, and if only $20,000,000 were to be spent, the argument by the Senator from Ohio and other Senators might be well taken. But, Mr. President, if that is all that is to be spent in connection with this matter, the bill might as well be thrown out the window now. If, in order to keep abreast of the world scientifically, there is not to be spent upon research in this country more than $20,000,000 a year, or, as I said, more than the cost of a cruiser, then we had better quit. Although there will be great over-all projects, the real purpose of the bill is to correlate, in small areas and in small projects, all over the United States, all types and forms of scientific research. As certain scientists, who were in the gallery yesterday and who may be in attendance today, will tell you, Mr. President, the Atomic Bomb and the proximity fuse were not developed entirely at any one place. The scientists engaged in that work were spread all over the United States, but there was a correlating division. The product was manufactured at two places. The scientists came from universities and colleges, and from the nooks and corners of all the United States.

The amendment does not provide that one-fourth of the funds, whether it be one-fourth of $20,000,000, or whatever may be appropriated, shall go to the 48 states. It merely says that one-fourth shall be distributed in a certain way among the states and universities that send scientists to develop the great over-all projects of which the Senator from Ohio speaks. It merely means that such states have an opportunity to be heard, and to present research plans

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to the Foundation. If a plan thus presented fits into the over-all plan, or if it be a special, isolated plan, then an allocation may be made for it from one-fourth of the money. There is nothing serious about that. Seventy-five per cent of the fund may well go, as I have said to the Senator from New Jersey, to the Ivy League colleges; that would be all right with me; but one-fourth of it could be distributed in the manner indicated, if a plan is presented that correlates with the over-all plan, and if it is a specific project that is worth while, whether it be from West Virginia, or whether it be—and I might as well include my state too—from the State of Washington, or from the State of Rhode Island.

Mr. Magnuson. The principal objection partly comes from those who believe it might become some sort of political thing; that people from different states and universities might come forward and say to their Senators, "You have got to get 25 per cent of these funds, or our share of 25 per cent of the funds." The amendment does not contemplate that at all. It merely says that unless a state, for example the State of Wyoming, has a plan fitting into the over-all project of the Foundation, it is not entitled to anything at all. The Foundation, in the last analysis, directs the distribution of the moneys, regardless of anything that may have been said. I think the Senator from West Virginia will agree with me on that.

Mr. Ferguson. I wonder whether there is anything in the bill as now drafted, without the amendment, which would prohibit the selection of a college in a particular state that might have a program fitting into the over-all program?

Mr. Magnuson. No; nothing at all.

Mr. Ferguson. But under the amendment it would be compulsory that 25 per cent of the fund be scattered among the 48 states?

Mr. Magnuson. If the plans presented by the 48 states and by the institutions within the states could and would coordinate with the over-all plan of the Foundation, yes.

Mr. Ferguson. The bill as drafted makes it a matter of discretion, whereas the Senator's amendment makes it mandatory?

Mr. Kilgore. I want to say to the Senator from Michigan, in answer to his question, that 25 per cent of the fund is set up for use by educational institutions within the various states for research work, but before any of it can be used, a plan acceptable to the Foundation must be presented. Under the original provision, the Foundation could spend the whole sum in one college, if it wanted to.

Mr. Ferguson. If the Senator will yield, I should like to ask whether, under the bill, the Foundation may not, in its discretion, allow funds to go to any college?

Mr. Kilgore. That is correct.

Mr. Ferguson. But the amendment here proposed would compel them to seek various colleagues with whom to spend 25 per cent of the fund?

Mr. Magnuson. It would compel them to determine if a certain plan would fit in with the over-all plan.

Mr. Ferguson. Yes; that is correct. That would make it mandatory.

Mr. Magnuson. As I say, this is an amendment that has been long discussed by Senators, by scientists and by many other persons interested in the matter, and which, after all the discussion, was finally placed by the Senate in last year's bill. The Senate placed the stamp of approval upon it. I hope, as I said earlier in the day, that nothing will be done that will

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impair the basic purpose of the bill. I think the amendment helps to carry out the basic purposes of the bill, including the wide distribution of research and the wide distribution of opportunity to develop the scientific potentiality of America.

Mr. Smith. The formula of distributing the money by states under the plan proposed by the amendment is not sound. The money must be distributed in a totally different manner than that proposed by the amendment. We must begin by getting the very best brains we can to direct the work of the Foundation, and have them determine the policies and the projects, and then have them come to the Congress and say, "This is our program for 1948. These are the young persons we have discovered who should have our assistance as students and scholars and fellows. We ask for so much money for this project next year, so much money the year following, and so much money the year following that." Ultimately, we may get money for this purpose for every state in the nation. But if we scatter our fire in every state of the nation, my opinion is that we will jeopardize the project in its very inception, because it will simply be the handing out of money to each state by reason of the pressure put upon us. It will not be the development of projects which mean so much for the welfare of the country. That is the theory of those of us who oppose the amendment of the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. O'Mahoney. But the record of the development of state universities in this nation is a record which controverts every argument the Senator makes. These state universities have prospered and grown and expanded in the realm of education more than all the endowed universities in the United States have done. The frontier now is the frontier of science. I come from an area which 50 years ago or 75 years ago was beyond the frontier, and people who were seeking new opportunities could with certainty go out beyond the Mississippi River and the Missouri River in the knowledge that they would obtain opportunities there to build new homes and create new means of livelihood. But those opportunities have now passed. If we are to develop in the future, the development must be by way of expansion of the frontier of science.

Within the past three or four weeks news has come from Soviet Russia that a great program has been undertaken by the Government of Russia to develop the mineral resources of the Russian territory. There have been suggestions made here that we should do likewise. Last year I had the opportunity of standing upon the Senate floor to urge the passage of what was known as the Stock Piling Act. It was adopted. It is the law. That law authorizes the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to undertake work intended to develop our sources of strategic and critical materials. In every one of the western states and in many of the other states of the union there are undeveloped resources which science can make available. I know of no reason why in passing the bill we should not adopt the formula contained in the amendment of the Senator from West Virginia, that if the schools in the various states can present plans which conform to the plan laid down by the Foundation, that 25 per cent of the fund can properly be held for use in those states. The important thing, Mr. President, is to bring about the distribution among the people of the United States of the opportunities of securing scientific training and education.

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Mr. Smith. I may say to the Senator from Wyoming that it is a question of method. I agree with everything the Senator has said about the importance of these state institutions, but the question is whether we are going to say, "We shall distribute funds to every state in the union," or whether we are going to have a board or cabinet selected which represents all these groups, which shall decide where to begin. The question is: Do we want to give funds to every institution? Or do we want to select 10 this year, 20 next year, and, as we progress, select more? Or do we want to say that we shall start with a smaller amount for each one? Or shall we concentrate on our research? That is the problem.

Mr. Magnuson. The Senator has given a very good example of how the proposition would work out. The Senator said that in the Territory of Alaska, $4,800 would be allotted to each teacher. Unless the University of Alaska located far north of Nome, could fit into the over-all plan of the Foundation, its teachers would not receive the $4,800. I stood on the floor of the Senate a year ago and pleaded with the United States Senate to add to an appropriation bill the sum of $10,000 to continue the geophysical laboratory at the University of Alaska which had made a great contribution to the study of geophysics of the entire Arctic in which military maneuvers are now taking place, and in connection with which the results of the work of that university are being utilized.

Mr. Smith. The way our bill is drawn, that is exactly what would happen. The institution would present its case to the 24 members of the Foundation, and they, I presume, would give their approval to that project.

Mr. Magnuson. The plan of the University of Alaska would have fitted into any kind of over-all plan.

Mr. Smith. If it came into an over-all plan it would be limited, whereas if it placed its case before the Board it could receive the sort of appropriation the Senator suggests. It is simply a matter of approach.

Mr. Kilgore. The point I wish to make clear is that a certain amount would be allocated to each state if it could furnish a project which was acceptable.

I will say to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey that the only difference between our two theories is this: As was well expressed by the Senator yesterday, we are going ahead by trial and error. I am trying to remove any possibility of one error. I want to make sure that one error will not occur.

Mr. Hickenlooper. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from West Virginia who would decide whether or not a project was acceptable.

Mr. Kilgore. The Foundation itself.

NECESSITY

Mr. Hickenlooper. Then what is the need for this amendment? If it is an acceptable project the Foundation, if it is performing its duty—and we assume that it will be composed of reliable, zealous individuals—would be bound in all moral conscience to give them the money anyway, without this amendment, if the project were acceptable. Under the general provisions of the bill, if the Foundation says that it will not grant the money to an institution because the project is unacceptable, it would say the same thing, if it were composed of honest men, under the terms of the Senator's amendment; and either 25 per cent of the funds would be frozen or the institutions would

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say, "We must dig up a project, because there is some money waiting for us in Washington. Let us dig up a plausible project so that we can get the money."

From listening to the debate, with some memory of what has happened in the past, I believe that this amendment would do a disservice to the people in the expenditure of their own money. The Foundation will dispense the money, whether it is the people's money or not. The practical result of the amendment would be to earmark 25 per cent, which would not be subject to the superior judgment, examination, intelligence and discretion of the members of the Foundation.

I hope to be able to have confidence enough in the Foundation to assume that if any institution has a sound, feasible and practicable project that will contribute to the advancement of science, the Foundation will immediately give it such aid as it can. If the Foundation adopts any other attitude, then the very basis of the Foundation itself will crumble. I believe that to earmark 25 per cent of the money and make it mandatory that it be scattered broadcast on projects upon which the Foundation would pass in either event, would represent the isolation and sterilization of a substantial portion of this money so that it could not be used with versatility by the Foundation. To that extent the freedom of science and the freedom of projects would be curtailed.

Mr. Saltonstall. I should like to ask the Senator from Washington a question with reference to this amendment, if I may. In the first place, I am opposed to the amendment and agree with what the Senator from New Jersey has said and what the Senator from Iowa has said. The purpose of the bill, as I understand it, is to get the most benefit we can from a comparatively small amount of money.

It seems to me that the amendment is erroneously drawn, for these reasons: First, on page 2, in lines 1 and 2, it states that one-fourth shall be apportioned among the states in equal shares, and then there is a comma. If $20,000,000 is appropriated, 25 per cent of that is $5,000,000, and one-fourth of 25 per cent is $1,250,000, which means that $24,000 will go to each of the 48 states and must be apportioned among them. As I read it, it does not specify how the money shall be used. The remainder of the paragraph discusses contracts and financial arrangements satisfactory to the Foundation. But the first quarter which will have to go to each one of the states goes to it, or is held for it, regardless of any financial or contractual arrangement with the Foundation.

I personally hope that the amendment will not be agreed to, for the reasons already stated. If it is to be agreed to, it seems to me it should be revamped.

Mr. Magnuson. With reference to the one-fourth which shall be apportioned among the states in equal shares, that is also subject to the Foundation's approval of a plan which fits in with its other plans.

Mr. Saltonstall. I do not think it clearly so provides.

Mr. Magnuson. It should. I thank the Senator.

Mr. Saltonstall. I hope the amendment will not be agreed to.

Mr. Smith. Mr. President, since the Senate is to vote on the pending amendment at 1 o'clock, approximately 20 minutes is left to each side for debate. I shall open debate on our side by recalling a little history with regard to the amendment now pending, as well as with respect to

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the bill itself. I want to state briefly what the issue is. The question simply is whether there shall be distributed to all the states of the Union on the basis of population certain of the funds which may be appropriated each year for scientific research, so that each state may have an opportunity to participate in such funds. That is a very worthy objective, of course, but I have tried to point out that the purpose of the Scientific Foundation is not to advance the cause of education generally. That objective is being taken care of by other legislation which is now being considered by subcommittees of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The purpose of the Foundation is to discover projects of research in basic science which are important for the future of the country and on which concentration should be had in order to promote the progress and advancement of science. The other purpose, of course, is to train promising young scientists wherever we may find them in order that they may be developed for doing research work in the future.

We have therefore provided in our bill not for the distribution geographically of funds, but for placing in the hands of the Foundation, consisting of 24 members appointed by the President, the definite responsibility of determining the policy to be pursued and selecting the projects which in a given year should be studied for the purpose of using most effectively the funds which may be appropriated. It must not be forgotten that the 24 members are to be appointed by the President after receiving nominations from the scientific societies of the country, from the land-grant colleges, from the associations of state-supported institutions, such as our state universities, and from private institutions, such as our private universities.

So the issue, Mr. President, is one of judgment as to what is the most effective way to bring about the accomplishment of the purpose a foundation such as the one proposed must have in mind.

It is our belief that in dealing with this matter through a foundation, representing as far as possible all corners of the country, all types of scientific and educational institutions, and made up of the very best talent obtainable, and entrusting to the foundation so created the formulation of policy and the determination of the program to be followed, we are providing for a much wiser way of expending the funds which may be appropriated for this purpose than we would by providing a flat formula for scattering the funds to the various states of the union. As worthy as that cause is, I submit that that is not the way to deal with a foundation of this kind.

EDUCATION

Mr. Saltonstall. I for one am profoundly interested in the problem of education. A few days ago I read of the bill which had been reported from the subcommittee headed by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken]. We want to assist education in this country. We must do so if we are to keep our free government as we have it today. But if we are going to assist education, let us do it directly. Let us not do it indirectly through trying to establish a science foundation and dissipating its funds in small amounts among the various states and among institutions which may be located within their borders.

The manner in which the pending amendment would distribute the funds of the Foundation would to a large extent injure the purposes for

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which the Foundation is to be established. I give two examples which I have worked out, and which may not be strictly accurate. Under this amendment the State of Massachusetts would receive approximately $90,000. The State of Nevada would receive $26,500. If the money it to be spread out in that way, how effective will it be in promoting scientific investigation and research? I believe that the amendment of the Senator from West Virginia should be rejected, and that the bill should be enacted in such form as will leave a broad scope of discretion in the directors and in the executive committee of the Foundation.

Mr. O'Mahoney. Mr. President, I think that what has been said today by the Senator from New Jersey and the Senator from Massachusetts constitutes about as strong an argument as could be made in support of the amendment. The Senator from New Jersey, in closing his statement a few moments ago, stated that this program is to be placed in the hands of men who are not at all interested politically, and that to those men would be delegated the full power to regulate and control the program.

It is precisely upon that ground, Mr. President, that I stand for the amendment; and I believe that if Senators will give attention to the implications of the bill before us they will see that the amendment is designed to balance a program of central power with a program of distributed power. If there is any one thing that has made America great, it is that America has preserved, until recently, the broadest possible opportunity for individuals everywhere. We are, however, Mr. President, upon a great stream which is hurrying this Government and every other government toward central power. We take the floor in the Senate and in the House; we take the stump in political campaigns and decry the growth of big government; we decry the concentration of power in the hands of monopoly upon one side and in the hands of Government upon the other side; and yet day by day in the Congress we are creating more and more central power in Government.

Mr. Saltonstall. If I said anything that would indicate in any way that I was not interested in fostering the smaller institutions of learning, I say now that there is no one who would help more than I in fostering them.

Mr. O'Mahoney. I know that is true of the Senator. I know that the Senator from Massachusetts does not want power concentration, and I know that the Senator from New Jersey does not want it. What I am pointing out is that we are drifting steadily toward concentrating political power at the very time that we pretend to be against it.

There is created in the very first section of this bill a National Science Foundation. The Foundation is to have 24 members; an executive committee of nine members, and the executive committee will operate through a quorum of four. The executive committee will meet how often? My recollection is that the bill provides that the executive committee shall meet not less than six times a year. There is some limitation upon that. Paragraph (c) of Section 5 provides:

> The executive committee shall meet at call of the chairman or at such times as may be fixed by itself, but not less than six times each year.

What does the committee report say with reference to the powers of the Director? I read from the committee report, describing the provisions of Section 6:

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Subject to the general supervision of the executive committee, the administrative affairs of the Foundation will be controlled—

Observe the word. How perfect that word is to describe the progress toward central power. It is a director who shall control the activities of this Foundation. I read further:

The administrative affairs of the Foundation will be controlled by a full-time, paid director appointed by the committee, with the approval of a majority of the Foundation. The director will perform such functions as may be assigned to him by the executive committee and follow the policies established from time to time by the committee and the Foundation.

I turn to the bill itself to read what the powers of those persons in the Foundation will be. The authority of the Foundation is described in Section 10, as follows:

(a) to prescribe such rules and regulations—

Here we have another example of the constant practice of setting up new divisions of Government and clothing them with the power to make rules and regulations. What are the standards? Senators who are opposing the amendment say, "You can depend upon these wise men to whom we will give this power to recognize the various states. They will not shut you off." But the history of concentrated power is that those who exercise it speedily acquire the notion that they are all-wise as well as all-powerful, and when they get that notion the opportunity for the rank and file to secure the benefits under such laws is immediately narrowed.

I read further:

(b) to make such expenditures as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of this act.

Here, again, we set up a new Government agency and give it the authority to spend as much money as it deems necessary. Of course, it has to go before the Appropriation Committees of the Senate and the House from year to year. That is taken care of in another provision of the bill.

So, Mr. President, I conclude by saying that the importance of this amendment is that it imposes an obligation upon the Foundation to accept or receive and entertain suggestions from universities and colleges in the various states. This is the way by which we can stimulate activity in scientific research in the various states. I have no reason to believe, for example, that the University of Wyoming would be recognized by the director, the executive committee, or the broad Foundation of 24 members. A body of 24 men is too small a number to be able to erect a fence around scientific development in the United States.

I hope the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. Kilgore. Mr. President, I wish to sum up our position briefly. In the first place, at the outset of the discussion, two difficulties arose in connection with the idea of founding a scientific research institution. The first difficulty was the notion that we were merely after inventions and new discoveries, only. The other difficulty was the suggestion that the purpose was to develop in the United States a research organization on a nation-wide basis, capable of rapid expansion.

In dealing with the Office of Scientific Research and Development, we found that they knew about only a few laboratories, and that there were only a few such places to which they would assign work to be done and projects carried out. Those laboratories were vastly expanded, but the educational institutions of the United States were unable to contribute the

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fair share which they thought they should contribute.

Mr. President, my primary motive in connection with this matter is to promote the development of scientists as well as the development of research. The two go hand in hand. At the outset of the discussion of this program, all the colleges were afraid of it, fearing that, under it, what happened during the war would happen to them, namely, that private laboratories, even non-profit private laboratories, would benefit from the program to the exclusion of the universities and colleges. Mr. President, if the pending measure merely proposed the granting of money to the states, I would not go along at all with the state educational institutions in the position they have taken; but we agreed at the meeting over which the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Saltonstall] presided that we would protect and promote the development of scientists, not only at the present time but 15 or 20 years from now, by seeing to it that the various educational institutions throughout the United States were assigned some research projects to work upon, so that there would not be a sequestration of such work.

The opponents of the amendment speak of dire results which will follow from distributing this money to the states. I wonder if they realize the grave weakness of the bill as it now stands, namely, that it contains no provision in regard to where the work shall be done. So it might happen, as was the case with the Office of Scientific Research and Development, that the scientists doing the work under the program would feel that only a few private laboratories were capable of doing the work. The bill will provide no protection against such a development, unless it is amended as we propose. If the bill is amended by the adoption of our amendment, it will guarantee a distribution throughout the states, not only of scholarships but of projects which will be available to boys who wish to work their way through school.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 49, as follows:

YEAS—30

Aiken, Chavez, Connally, Downey, Fulbright, George, Green, Hayden, Hoey, Holland, Johnson, Colo., Kilgore, Lucas, McClellan, McFarland, McGrath, McKellar, McMahon, Magnuson, Maybank, Morse, Murray, Myers, O'Conor, O'Mahoney, Russell, Sparkman, Taylor, Thomas, Okla., Umstead.

NAYS—49

Ball, Brewster, Bridges, Brooks, Buck, Bushfield, Butler, Byrd, Cain, Capper, Cooper, Cordon, Donnell, Dworshak, Ecton, Ellender, Ferguson, Gurney, Hatch, Hawkes, Hickenlooper, Jenner, Kem, Knowland, Lodge, McCarthy, Malone, Martin, Millikin, Moore, O'Daniel, Reed, Revercomb, Robertson, Va., Robertson, Wyo., Saltonstall, Smith, Taft, Thomas, Utah, Thye, Tydings, Vandenberg, Watkins, Wherry, White, Wiley, Williams, Wilson, Young.

NOT VOTING—16

Baldwin, Barkley, Bricker, Capehart, Eastland, Flanders, Hill, Ives, Johnston, S. C., Langer, McCarran, Overton, Pepper, Stewart, Tobey, Wagner.

A man who wanted to impress his wife with his knowledge of banking, explained the intricacies of high finance. After listening patiently for some time, she asked simply, "Isn't it wonderful, Henry, that a man with as little money as you have should know so much about it?"

—Christian Observer

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FORUM: ARE SUBSIDIES

YES!

By Carol L. Thompson

BY June 15, 1947, the cost of living in the United States was estimated to be 58.5 per cent higher than the average cost of living in the 1935-1939 period. The cost of clothing was over 100 per cent higher; food, 96.1 per cent; house furnishings, 78 per cent and fuel 19.5 per cent higher. No relief is in sight.

Clothing and house furnishings we can "make do" and "do without;" but in spite of Senator's Taft's "eat less" program, the families of America must buy food, and food is leading the way in the increasingly rapid spiral of mounting prices. By September, 1947, it was estimated that food prices had jumped more than 40 per cent since V-J Day. In one September week, wholesale food prices on butter, meat, eggs and other staples climbed as much as 36 per cent. Top quality butter reached the *wholesale* price of 83 cents a pound. Hog prices in Chicago averaged $28.70 a hundred weight on the bulk of sales in October (compared with an average of $25 in April); cattle averages reached $29.75 (compared to April averages of $23). Rises were immediately reflected in the retail markets, where the housewife was paying as much as 24 cents a quart for Grade A milk, 89 cents a pound for butter, 93 cents a dozen for eggs and more than a dollar a pound for fancier cuts of meat.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

But if dollars would buy less, they were undeniably more plentiful. In June, 1947, 60,000,000 people were employed in the United States; in July, the figure had climbed to 60,079,000. Henry Wallace's "full employment" had been temporarily achieved. According to the Department of Commerce, the country had a record estimated annual income rate of 193 billion dollars in June—12 billion dollars more than the all-time previous high 12 months' estimate of March, 1947. In the past year, factory wages have risen about 12 per cent; white collar salaries, seven per cent. According to Chester Bowles (in a letter to *The New York Times*), net profits after taxes and profits as a percentage of net worth are double war-time nets. Like everyone else, the farmer enjoys the boom. In the first eight months of 1947, his cash receipts were 21 per cent higher than they were in the same period of 1946. In 1939, farm income was less than $8,000,000,000; by 1946 it had risen to nearly $24,000,000,000.

Yet the average consumer's income had not risen as fast or as far as the cost of his food. While food prices climbed 40 per cent, average incomes

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NCREASING FOOD PRICES NOW?

NO!

By Grace Cook

"A conspiracy is being engaged in by the great industrialists in this country to try to lead the American people to believe that farm prices and the government support program are responsible for the present high prices in the United States." Senator Eastland of Mississippi, speaking to the Senate in May, 1947, called attention to the face-saving devices of the National Association of Manufacturers, now hard put to it to try to explain away the spiralling of prices after the demise of the O.P.A.

What are the real facts on which the charge against the farm groups is based? What was the cost of the roll-back subsidy program, so heartily disliked by the N.A.M.? How much is the price support program costing the taxpayer today? Answers to these questions reveal the absurdity of present claims that government aid to the farmer has forced food costs up.

O.P.A. POLICY

During the lifetime of the O.P.A., government subsidies on food cost two billion dollars a year (a small sum compared to the billions paid out to war industrialists). These "rollback" subsidies paid directly to the farmer to compensate him for his high cost of production kept the retail prices of most foods within reach of the average housewife. The steady climb in food prices since these subsidies were discontinued proves this point. Since July, 1946, when subsidies were eliminated, the price of grain has risen an average of $1.40 a bushel. One and a quarter billion dollars has been added to the cost of American overseas relief. The purchasing power of British and French loans has decreased by at least 30 per cent. Obligations assumed by the United States under the Marshall Plan will be increased by three or four billion dollars.

Not content with destroying the O.P.A.'s subsidy program, these same selfish interests are today trying to eliminate the whole price support program on which our agricultural production is based. The general obscurity and confusion that befogs the farm policies of the federal government helps them reach their goal. Propagandists have convinced the American public that there is something wicked about a "farm bloc" and something inherently dishonest in the concept of "parity."

Truth to tell, the "farm bloc" is no better and no worse than any other organization (or, as in this case, group of organizations) seeking to promote the interests of the people it represents.

"Ah," you cry, "but the farm bloc stands for 'parity!'" Quite so, dear

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climbed only 15 per cent; from May to September, 1947, food prices rose nearly 14 per cent while income tailed along with a meagre three to four per cent.

Defenders of the still-unmourned O.P.A., of government planning and of the farm lobbies, have looked far and wide to find a "villain." Thus we are offered the grain speculator as the real cause of rising food prices. This charge is ridiculous. At most, speculation in a commodity such as grain is merely a symptom, not a cause, of inflation. Speculative risk is involved in every step of the production process and the speculator makes a profit only when his guesses as to future prices are correct. Actually, when he guesses right and holds commodities off the market for future scarcity, he performs "a public service;" he helps stabilize prices.

Profiteers are another group singled out for attack; yet middlemen and retailers have made less profit in general in the past year than most industrial companies and most farmers. Some experts point to the rising wages and salaries of the population and mutter of supply and demand. The farmers, anxious to deflect public attention from their own shortcomings, cry that food for export has reduced the domestic supply to a point where prices automatically rise.

THE PRICE SUPPORT PROGRAM

Of government price support, we hear little. Yet, lo and behold, careful study reveals that there is a support program for farm prices and that it may cost the taxpayers more than a billion dollars in the current fiscal year! Why, in an era of ever-rising prices, the federal government took upon itself the burden of keeping food prices up needs explanation. It is this program and the type of thinking behind it, that in my opinion is responsible for the high cost of food today. Ever since the federal government assumed the burden of supporting the farm population of the country under the first Agricultural Adjustment Act, it has been commonly accepted that part of its job is the assurance of ever-normal, ever prosperous domestic markets to the farmer. At that time, the government deliberately encouraged waste and destruction of food produce in its program of "scarcity" to raise food prices and help the farmer. Today, the government encourages increased production and assumes the burden itself of storing and destroying surpluses to keep food prices high. Understanding of this paternalistic government policy is vital for the American consumer in 1947. Already, the Department of Agriculture has announced its new program for 1949 and beyond, aimed at a permanent floor under farm prices—a permanent high cost of living for the American public. The significance of this program becomes clearer when we realize that the starving and destitute nations of Europe will either pay our high food prices indefinitely, starve or turn to Communism.

The farm price support law passed in 1942 forms the basis for present

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Herblock, *The Washington Post*

"FAR FROM THE MADDENING CROWD'S IGNOBLE STRIFE."

government support of high farm prices. When the late Franklin Roosevelt addressed the Congress of the United States on Labor Day of that year, he paid particular attention to ceilings on wages and food prices. He threatened to take emergency action if Congress did nothing to stop the rising cost of living. Those who heard his demand for congressional action by October 1, "or else," were so impressed by the dangers of inflation that a seemingly minor guarantee to the powerful farm lobbies was overlooked. Always politically conscious, the President had reaffirmed his desire to attain parity for the farmer and had promised, further:

"As part of our general program on farm prices, I recommend that Congress in due time give consideration to the advisability of legislation which would place a floor under prices of farm products in order to maintain stability in the farm market for a reasonable future time."

This "reasonable future time," he thought, should be "one year, or even two years—or whatever period is necessary after the end of the war."

The time limit was finally fixed by law at two years after the official end of the war: i.e., the end of 1948. The government obligated until then to support prices on 21 products at 90 per cent of parity; parity being a theoretical price level for farm products intended to give to the farmer the same amount of purchasing power he had in a certain "normal period" (usually taken to be 1904-1914). Parity is adjusted monthly by the Department of Agriculture in line with price changes in farm and manufactured products.

It cannot be denied that there was good reason for some sort of inducement to the farmers in 1942. After the last war, as they remembered all too clearly, there had been a 50 per cent drop in farm products prices. Farmers were therefore wary of over-expanding, although abundant food production was vital to the war effort. The support program was, therefore, designed to encourage greater production from the farmer and, in fact, post-war production is still greater by one-third than pre-war production. The cost to the federal government and to the consumer is, however, exorbitant.

"Floors" under farm prices are not unique in the post-war era nor, in all probability, will the transition period see the end of them. The government's war-time dilemma of increasing pork production throws light on many of the

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problems of a controlled agricultural program. The A.A.A. of 1938 included a mandatory "strait-jacket provision" for determining corn prices by high corn-loan rates. The 1942 act merely increased the loan rates to 90 per cent of parity.

The support price, or subsidy, on corn, however, is of vital significance for the price of hogs in American markets. Henry Wallace's corn-hog ratio clarifies the link between corn and hogs. Normally, 11.6 bushels of corn are required to equal in value 100 pounds of hog. "When the ratio is higher than 11.6, corn is too expensive to be fed to hogs." In 1938 the government held a few million bushels of corn, bought under the price support program; by 1940 the stockpile had reached 475,000,000 bushels. To increase hog production, then, the government had two alternatives: to release corn at a price low enough to feed it to hogs, or to raise the price of hogs. Those who have bought pork chops since 1942 know only too well what decision was taken. Throughout the war, while O.P.A. officials worked earnestly to keep down the cost of living, farm lobbies worked with Congress and the Department of Agriculture to keep farm prices high. Artificially high prices naturally force up the cost of food to the consumer.

COST OF SUPPORT

It is true that "support prices" are not strictly speaking subsidies, but the net effect is so similar that only quibblers would differentiate the two. The way the support price program works today is this: producers of the 21 commodities listed in the 1942 act may obtain "loans" at 90 per cent of parity. This obviously puts a "floor" under the prices of these products. If market prices fall below the loan level of 90 per cent, the farmer lets the loan lapse and the federal government takes over the stored crop on which the loan was made. In its first nine years of operation under similar legislation the Commodity Credit Corporation, which finances such programs and holds the commodities, spent $2,700,000,000 for loans. That the program's expense is increasing is revealed by the fact that the cost of the 1947-48 program alone may be over $1,000,000,000.

Naturally enough, if prices stay above the support price, there is no subsidy. Proponents of the "floor under prices program" maintain that farm food prices are seldom supported now and that consequently government support has nothing to do with food prices. This is not the case. In the 1946-1947 fiscal year, milk, wool and potatoes were supported heavily by the government. Let us take the example of potatoes as a case in point. Figured on the basis of parity, in the Spring of 1947, the Alabama farmer was entitled to $2.70 for every 100 pounds of potatoes; this amount the government was willing to loan him on the potato crop. As it happened, the crop was early; surpluses developed; the price weakened and the government bought 28,000 bushels of second grade Alabama potatoes. While the long-suffering housewife was paying six dollars a bushel for Canadian potatoes (imported because of artificially high American prices), 7,000 bushels of potatoes were destroyed in Alabama.

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The cost to the government of the potato subsidy in 1946 was $80,000,000; between 90,000,000, and 100,000,000 bushels of potatoes were bought by the C.C.C. to keep the price high. Of the 1946 surplus, 22,000,000 bushels were destroyed; 30,000,000 were sold at a loss to distillers for alcohol; 10,500,000 went to starch factories; another 10,500,000 were exported; 11,500,000 were fed to livestock and 3,000,000 bushels went into free school lunches. FORUM readers may remember the congressional debate on the rotting potato surplus (see FORUM, December, 1946). Once the potatoes had been bought by the federal government, little use could be made of them; yet had the crop been marketed normally, every American housewife would have benefitted by lower potato prices.

The same type of government support goes by law to grains, hogs, poultry, milk, peanuts, soybeans and cotton, with loans provided at 90 per cent of parity. Although some commodity prices remain far above parity, the government actually buys above parity in many cases because of fear that prices will fall below. Thus in February, 1947, $1,000,000 worth of turkeys were taken off the market above parity; in April the government was buying dried eggs at 96 per cent of parity and potatoes were featured in the same old story. Although potato acreage was cut after the 1946 surplus, the parity price and, therefore, the support price was raised, with a record yield (and another government subsidized surplus) resulting.

Fruit and vegetables are not included in the 21 products of the formal price support program; yet informal government policy toward the farmer gives fruit and vegetable producers incentives also. According to general farm policy, the Department of Agriculture gets 30 per cent of United States customs receipts for "promoting consumption of farm products." By this means fruit and vegetable farmers are assured of government aids if and when these are necessary, i.e., if prices drop below parity.

Only in Alice's Wonderland and in Washington would an attempt be made to resist inflation on the one hand and keep up the price of food products on the other. Eggs, potatoes, turkeys, milk—all could be utilized by the housewife to keep her food budget within reason; but all are fearfully watched by government officials lest the prices drop below "parity." And the average consumer foots the bill not only for high prices but also for the government "support program" that keeps them high!

THE FARM BLOC

How can this be? The answer lies in large part in the strength and political organization of the farm bloc. A large measure of the farm bloc's strength is derived from its representation in the United States Senate. When the constitution framers provided for Senate representation by states rather than by population they had no idea of giving overwhelming strength to a small faction of farmers. Less than three per cent of the population lived in towns of 8,000 or more persons; the majority of Americans were rural, regardless of their native state. Today, less than 40 per cent of our population lives in "rural communities," not all of those who do are properly

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called "farmers." Yet because each state has two votes in the Senate regardless of population, senators from farm states are able to outvote the interests of the majority of the population.

This is not an all-out condemnation of America's farmers. First of all, in a dog-eat-dog world, perhaps they are justified in holding their own as long as they can. "Why pick food prices" they may well ask, "when obviously prices of manufactured goods have also risen alarmingly?" Although I believe that high food prices are in large part the result of government price support policies of various kinds, I recognize that government policies have kept high prices of many other vital commodities, such as copper, wool, cotton, housing materials.

It is my contention that floors under farm prices, like price ceilings, subsidies, and all other aspects of government planning, whether for "'scarcity," as in early New Deal Days, or for "abundance" as proposed today, will work to the immediate disadvantage of the consumer and, in the long run, to the even greater disadvantage of the farmer himself. Rising food prices, supported by the government, have led directly to rising wages and rising costs for all manufactured products. And the higher American prices go, the more completely the farmer is being shut out of those world markets which alone, in the long run, can provide him with adequate outlets for his products.

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reader, and parity is to the farmer what fair wages are to the union member and fair prices are to the industrialist.

There should be no mystery about parity at all; the concept can be explained simply. "Parity price means a price for the farmer's product which will give it an exchange value, for things the farmer needs to buy, equivalent to that in a specified base period. The base period mostly used as 'par' has been the five pre-war years, 1909-1914." According to the first Agricultural Adjustment Act, parity was declared to be part of national farm policy; the concept has continued to be basic ever since.

BASE OF PARITY

To determine parity, a base price for 1909-1914 is determined by averaging the prices reported to the Department of Agriculture by farmers in those years. Next, an index of prices *paid by farmers* for such items as food, clothing, plows and tractors, interest charges and taxes on real estate is calculated. This index of prices paid by the farmer shifts constantly today and a new list of parity prices is, therefore, published every month by the Department of Agriculture. In January, 1942, for example, compilation of the index revealed that farm-commodity prices would have had to be 146 per cent of the 1909-1914 base prices to give the farmer equivalent purchasing power. The parity price for any commodity, therefore, was 1.46 times the average price of that commodity in the base period.

In other words, if a farmer could buy a new tractor with the proceeds

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from one ton of wheat in 1909-1914, then he should be able to get equivalent value for his ton of wheat today. "Parity" is merely recognition of the fact that a dollar may buy considerably more at one period than at another; it is obviously not the dollar price but what you can buy with your dollar that counts to you and to the farmer too. My opponent has made much of the fact that the dollar today buys what 58 cents bought in 1939. What she does not mention is that this holds true for the farmer's dollar as well.

When the price support law was passed in 1942, there were 21 products which, in the eyes of the federal government, were vital to the war effort and needed encouragement for expanded production. The farmer urged to increase his corn crops, for example, remembered the 50 per cent drop in farm prices after the last war and the corn crops that found no market. The hog farmer still recalled the slaughter of the little pigs, when there was no one to buy them at depression prices. So the federal government simply guaranteed to support prices on these and the other 19 commodities at 90 per cent of parity; the farmer was assured that his returns from these crops would buy for him 90 per cent (at least) of what he received in the base period 1909-1914.

GREATER PRODUCTION

A primary effect of the program has been the encouragement of greater food production; because of the 1942 guarantee, farm production is still one-third greater than pre-war production. When every bushel of grain, every pound of meat, is vital to the survival of human beings overseas, this should not be discounted. Without some guarantee of a fair price for coming crops, no farmer, however humanitarian, can afford to risk the welfare of his family for the starving overseas: he cannot afford the time, labor and overhead to produce emergency crops without assurance that the country as a whole will stand behind him.

In addition, the increased production of crops keeps the food supply somewhere near the current high demand; in itself this helps keep prices down, not up!

The plain, unvarnished truth is that most prices are so far above parity today that the government support program has no meaning. Hogs, for example, were 159 per cent above parity in October; wheat was 121 per cent above. At such prices, no farmer calls on the Commodity Credit Corporation to foreclose loans at 90 per cent of parity! During the first three months of 1947, less than $50,000,000 was spent for price support. Because the C.C.C. sometimes makes money on its loans, it showed an actual over-all profit of $227,000,000 in the early months of 1947!

Milk, wool and potatoes are the three products most frequently needing government support today. Although wool is not a food, it is worth noting that price support for this vital commodity is essential to our national defense. The industry has declined steadily; we now have the lowest sheep population in 68 years and 80 per cent of our wool is imported. Facing the possibility of war in the Arctic wastelands, it is obvious that we must encourage domes-

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Tom Gray, *The Chicago Times*

"ACE IN THE HOLE."

tic wool production for our own security. Milk also needs support. In spite of the rising cost of milk in dollars, milk actually costs 20 per cent more to produce this year than it did last, and the farmer gets 10 per cent less for it. Potatoes are likewise a vital American food crop.

The taxpayer is paying little or nothing today for the price support program; few food prices are even affected by the program; government support is *not* increasing food prices now. This much is obvious.

The $64 question remains: what is responsible for the rising price of food today? There is no single, simple answer to the question; several factors have combined to boost the cost of food. First of all, the prosperity of the country in general is at an all-time high. With more than 60,000,000 people employed, the demand for more and higher quality foods has soared above the available supply. More people are eating better than they ever have before in this country (or any other); even the 33 per cent higher production of farm products since the war is unable to supply the public at "normal" prices. The Department of Commerce estimated that in the first six months of 1947, corporation profits were at an annual rate of 29 billion dollars; corporations were making $33,000 a minute! Union wages have been boosted time and again and even the down-trodden white collar worker has averaged a seven per cent increase in salary. Meat consumption in 1947 was estimated by the Department of Commerce at 155 pounds per capita, highest per capita rate since 1909.

Speculators in the grain markets of Chicago are partly to blame. The Department of Agriculture's commodity exchange division reported in September that 90 per cent of all corn futures were being held by speculators. The 75 per cent Wall Street margin requirement had forced many speculators to shift to the commodity markets, not under federal regulation. In September, dealings in wheat futures were ten times normal transactions: speculators were heavily involved in the grain markets.

There is an intimate relationship between the cost of grain and the cost of all the meat we buy. One bushel of grain will produce up to eight pounds

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of beef, 19 pounds of pork, four-four pound chickens. Other commodities are affected as well. Nine dozen eggs are produced by one bushel of grain; 67 loaves of bread; 130 quarts of beer. With speculators pushing up grain prices, prices on all foods affected by grain rise proportionally. On October 6, the Commodity Exchange Commission finally "requested" that the exchanges boost margin requirements from 17½ per cent to 33 1/3 per cent, futures speculation dropped from 25 to 50 per cent almost immediately. Yet the drop in futures speculation did not cause a perceptible decrease in food costs.

Senator Young, of North Dakota, in a Senate speech of May, 1947, called attention to the third important factor influencing prices. "The plain, unadulterated fact regarding the rise in the cost of food in this Nation is that it is almost entirely due to our tremendous shipments abroad," he declared. Certainly there is a large measure of truth in his contention. According to some Washington economists, the index of food prices rises 17 points every time the United States sends $500,000,000 worth of food abroad. The Chicago Board of Trade reiterates this charge, pointing out that the State Deparment request for 475 million bushels of grain for export was accompanied by a sharp rise in grain futures. In July and August grain exports increased to an all-time high.

Government purchase policies for overseas shipment are also responsible in some measure; it has been generally agreed that the government buys grain for export when it sees fit, regardless of the condition of the market or the available supply of spot grain. This uncertain, careless buying helps to keep prices high.

Government income tax policies must shoulder an indirect share of the blame. With farm prosperity at an all-time high, farmers are holding back a large part of their crops to avoid higher income tax brackets. The Kansas hold-back this fall is reported to be 150 million bushels of wheat—more than one-fourth of all the bread grains we hope to send to Europe this winter. There is no way to *force* the farmer to put his crop on the market under the free enterprise system; unless he sees the opportunity for profit, he can hold the grain. And the resulting short supply, of course, helps keep the cost of food at a high level.

A survey of the factors causing high food prices reveals that government price support policies have little or nothing to do with the problem. If they have any effect at all, it is to increase the available supply of farm products and to help in small measure to combat inflation. Abundant supply is obviously the soundest method of lowering prices: the Department of Agriculture is to be congratulated for its far-sighted policy of maintaining floors under farm prices. The American housewife can hope that Secretary Anderson's new program to continue this sound guarantee for the farmer will meet the approval of Congress.

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Sex in Literature

By Charles I. Glicksberg

Assistant Professor of English, Brooklyn College

THE character of a civilization can generally be measured by its attitude toward the two related themes of death and sex. The fear of death engenders religious mysticism and faith in immortality. Excessive faith in the magical healing power of sex entails consequences of a different kind. The esoteric sex-cult, the product of sophistication and neurotic ennui, springs up only in the later, decadent stages of civilization.

The common people do not suffer from "sex on the brain." They never have. For them it is an instinct to be satisfied, preferably through institutional channels. In the matter of sex they are rock-ribbed conservatives. Sexual gratification is necessary and pleasurable, but they are aware that man also craves female companionship, a lifelong union based on the sentiment of love. He must have roots in society, family loyalties, emotional ties. There is no freedom without responsibility. Marriage is therefore the norm: the legalized and socially appropriate method for solemnizing the union of the sexes.

Many of the latter-day intellectuals, however, are differently constituted. For them there is no middle ground. Like the pendulum they must swing from one extreme to another. Either sex is condemned as inherently evil or it is exalted beyond reason. It is vile and degrading or sacred, beautiful, life-renewing. One is the Christian ethos that the neo-Humanists adopted, an ethos of ascetic renunciation, its vision fixed on the ideal of immortality, the spirit delivered from the body of this death. This mortification of the flesh provoked the inevitable recoil. Inhibitions were broken down. Puritanism was the prime evil to be overcome. Men proved their manhood by defying taboos which ran counter to the fundamental needs of human nature.

The revolt against Puritanism in sex was bound to come. It is impossible to deny the body for long. Neurotic suffering is the price paid for such repression. In their determination to avoid neurotic conflict, however, the men of the twentieth century overrode all restraints, and experimented curiously with all the known refinements of physical passion. This decadence is not unprecedented. We behold it at its worst in the fictional world of Proust, where passion turns into perversion, and in a novel like *The Counterfeiters* by André Gide. But the complexity of love in all its forms

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was first scientifically disclosed by Sigmund Freud. He gave it its classic expression. The rest is but a textual gloss. The Age of Freud gave birth to a sex-haunted, sex-tormented generation that embraced the cult of pan-sexualism as the new gospel of salvation.

The discoveries of psychoanalysis changed the whole course of modern life. It was no longer a question of satisfying physical desire. It was the mental component of sex that caused all the trouble. Sexual instincts were active in the unconscious. Their repression resulted in nervous disorders. Even dreams were charged with a preponderantly sexual content. In his paper on "Sexual Morality and Nervousness," Freud asserts that our entire civilization is based upon the suppression of instincts, particularly in the field of sex. Unlike Wilhelm Reich who has repudiated Freud by going beyond him, Freud maintained that the energy released by the effort at sublimation is capable of making valuable contributions to society. Each individual is able to achieve a certain degree of sublimation, depending on the strength of his original sexual instinct, but this process of sublimation cannot go on indefinitely. Direct sexual gratification must be obtained. If not, frustration takes its toll in the form of mental illness.

Though the libido, as Freud used the term, had a much wider meaning than the one commonly attached to sex, there can be no question that the Freudian conception of psychosexuality helped to bring up a generation that began to suffer more and more from "sex on the brain." Freud placed so much emphasis on sex because in his clinical investigation he found that the neurotic attached supreme importance to the sexual instinct. Almost invariably it was some sexual repression which caused the neurosis. The strategic mistake Freud made lay in broadening the meaning of sexuality to include more than sexual union. Anything that partook of the experience of love—friendship, love for humanity, intellectual passion, the scientist's ardent quest for objective truth—was connected with the sexual instinct. The word "sex" thus ceased to have any precise meaning.

Freud refused to spare man his deep-seated illusions. In the manner of Schopenhauer, he pointed out how on the biological level the individual leads a double existence. In one respect the individual is gratifying his own will to pleasure, but in serving his own ends he is also insuring the perpetuation of the race. Biologically he is the slave of the immortal germ-plasm within him, in return for which he is permitted to enjoy the sensation of intense pleasure.

Thus central to psychoanalysis is the theory of sexuality. It refuses to cover the subject with a verbal fig-leaf. Wilhelm Reich, a deserter from the Freudian camp, outstrips his master in emphasizing the role of sexuality in civilization. In his book, *The Function of the Orgasm,* published in 1942, he goes so far as to assert that the problem of sexuality "permeates by its very nature every field of scientific investigation. Its central phenomenon,

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the *orgasm,* is the focal point of problems arising in the field of psychology, biology and sociology." Here is what purports to be an experimentally developed, scientific theory of sexuality, which argues that sexual repression creates the ideological soil for the growth of fascism. The denial of pleasure makes possible the acceptance of life-denying ideologies. Men are afraid to be free, to trust themselves to their instincts.

Sex has become the new "scientific" religion and Reich is its prophet. In *The Sexual Revolution,* Reich charges that Western civilization is so constituted that sexual repression is unavoidable, yet it is neither necessary nor desirable. Furthermore, unlike Freud, he denies that sublimations are of any value. In fact, he states that the "natural," harmonious and complete fulfillment of the sex instinct would bring about not only the integration of the individual but also the salvation of society. What is even more startling, he attacks the idea of lifelong monogamous marriage as a form of bondage that cripples the personality. He vigorously attacks the belief that adolescents should live in sexual abstinence. Our present conflicts and suffering are all caused by socially imposed sexual taboos. Since everything has been tried and failed —religion, mysticism, metaphysics, Freudianism, Communism—Reich preaches the new gospel of sexual redemption.

How much truth is there in Freud's theory of sexuality? In *Sex and Repression in Savage Society,* Malinowski sought to test psychoanalytic theory in the light of anthropological findings. He discovered that repression of sexual instinct is a mental by-product of the evolution of culture. In Melanesia there were no taboos on sexual exploration. The children run about naked. At the age of three or four they become aware of sexuality, and their curiosity is not inhibited in any way. During the period of later childhood which extends from five till puberty, they acquire a sense of increasing independence. Without interference from parents or elders, they are able to gratify their sensuality directly and unashamedly. The older generation does not regard "copulation amusements" as reprehensible. On the contrary, they take it for granted, and even jest about it. Melanesian society gives free play to juvenile sexuality, and the result is a people happily free from all neuroses.

Freud, however, went so far as to argue that sexual energy is diverted and applied to cultural ends: a process technically known as "sublimation." Art, too, is sex. The dream is a substitute expression for repressed sexual desire. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of modernist writers hailed Freud as the Great Emancipator. Those who had been ashamed or afraid of sex were now at last set free. Freud tore off the chains that bound them: the inhibitions, the ascetic self-denials, the Puritanic hypocrisy, the neurotic frustrations, the compulsive fears.

The back-to-sex movement gained furious momentum. Here was the primal fountain of joy, the true

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elixir of youth, the secret of salvation. Whatever was wrong with modern man could be traced back to the evil of damming up this genitalian source of energy. The intellectuals could now establish contact with life-giving earth and recapture the ecstasy of primitive passion. They could sprout horns, grow roots downward like a tree, feel their blood flow in harmony with the cosmic beat. Remy de Gourmont, the French critic, declared that beauty is a sexual illusion "intimately connected with the idea of carnal pleasure." The finest works of art are those which portray the human body in its pure nakedness. When we respond to a work of literature or art, we are put in a state "favorable to the reception of erotic emotion."

There was something feverish and despairing, if not abnormal, in this exaggerated attachment to sex. Those who make a fetish of sex are committing intellectual suicide; they are spiritually empty vessels waiting to be filled with organic sensations. It was the fever of excess which pointed to a fundamental contradiction. With these moderns the sex instinct was not, as with Melanesians, a function to be spontaneously fulfilled. The well-fed person does not rave about food, yet hunger too is an organic instinct.

The intellectuals were obsessed with the subject of sex. They had "sex on the brain." In their eagerness to be primitive and earthy and non-intellectual, they behaved in a manner that was not only artificial but suspiciously abnormal. They made a god of sex, a physiological god. Like little children in a fit of naughtiness, they enjoyed uttering forbidden words. They experimented with new possibilities of sexual pleasure and, like Frank Harris, recorded their experiences for the eyes of posterity. In loudly and lyrically proclaiming that sex was clean and good and beautiful and healing, they betrayed the obvious fact that they believed it was "dirty." They protested entirely too much. Like the blasphemer who, in cursing God, betrays his innate religiosity, these sex-worshippers betrayed acute symptoms of an uneasy conscience.

But if the needs of the body cannot be denied with impunity neither can those of the mind and spirit. The historic wisdom of the race is not to be lightly set aside. Define love between the sexes how you please, it is still not to be confused with animal lust. Love is compounded of tenderness, love is a human partnership, a mutual sharing of life-experiences. Out of it is born the feeling of loyalty and oneness, the sense of unutterable devotion. Out of it emerges poetry, song, music, art. Ideals? Of course! But why not? Why confuse them with illusions? They condition the responses of the body just as the body affects the functioning mind. Man cannot afford to neglect either aspect of his being, the physical or the spiritual. It is time to call a halt to this intellectualized sex mania. The writers have gone far enough with this dangerous "primitivistic" nonsense.

The writer must not, of course, be prevented from reporting the

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truth of life as he sees it. Freedom of expression must be safeguarded if literature is to flourish. But if the writer deviates from the truth he should not be surprised when the critic pounces upon him and exposes his guilt.

Take the case of D. H. Lawrence whose influence today is still strong. Out of his personal obsession he gradually evolved a cosmic philosophy of sex. Sex was the health of life, of the earth earthy, a return to the primordial blood-stream. Only through sexual fulfillmment could the soul grow unified and whole. Through man, the woman finds herself, through woman the man. It is a process of rebirth, a consummation that emancipates the spirit of man from paralyzing inhibitions.

In a generation by no means mealy-mouthed, Lawrence's gospel, as voiced in *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* brought the pack snarling at his heels, but he had only himself to blame if his message was misinterpreted. *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* like his other novels (*The Rainbow, Women in Love* and *Aaron's Rod*), is an impassioned, propagandistic presentation of his philosophy of sex. Connie, the heroine, is a typical girl of her generation, imbued with the then current ideals of self-expression, intellectuality and idealism. Attracted by the mind of Lord Chatterley, who is away from the front on a month's leave, she marries him. He returns from the war a cripple, the lower half of his body paralyzed. Representing caste, tradition, aristocracy, he is the spineless, shell-shocked representative of a pseudo-idealistic age. He tries to keep her enslaved with his ideal of psychic communion, but her organism rebels at this starvation of her biological needs and she falls in love with Mellors, her husband's gamekeeper. Mellors, descended from the lower classes, is sensual, fearless, upright, close to the earth. It is he who reveals to Connie that her feelingse are not dead, it is he who brings her happiness and a renewed desire to live. He has made her unashamed, filled her with the maddening joy of the mating instinct. Now she is awakened, able to taste the poetry and beauty of passion, to enjoy the poetry and beauty of life.

When this novel was savagely attacked for its copious use of the unprintable four-letter word, Lawrence fought back desperately. In self-defense, he denounced his age as restless, diseased, perverted. Restless because it crushes its basic instincts; diseased because it denies the animal functions of the human body; perverted because it seeks unavailingly to sublimate the beauty and passion of sex. To deify the mind at the expense of the body is a sure mark of decadence. For Lawrence, salvation lay in the complete and free giving of the self to sex. One must let oneself go—that is his message of primitive spontaneity. Sex is more than procreation. It is a creative force, a source of joy and strength and wisdom. What mattered supremely was the instinctive consciousness, and this was being deliberately destroyed. Civilized man has acquired a pathological horror of sex, and this has poisoned our human relations and stifled the creative energy of the writer. On

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the healthy functioning of the sexual instinct depend many other deep instincts, and the artist who repudiates sex is cut off from the roots of his being. The history of our age, Lawrence declares, "is the nauseating and repulsive history of the crucifixion of the procreative body for the glorification of the spirit, the mental consciousness."

Lawrence was wrong in his emphasis, however justified his intentions may have been. Sex is not salvation. It never was, it never will be. The belief that sex is salvation points to the spiritual malaise of our time. It is not the plunge into sex which is so disturbing a phenomenon. Sex as heresy, sex as defiance, sex as religion: that is the danger, that is the aberration. It is only when a writer has nothing else to say that he exploits the emotions aroused by the theme of sexuality. When the variations on this theme become tiresome, he digs down, Surrealist-fashion, into the unconscious. The underground of the mind is also rich with the golden seed of sex. Sex dominates the organism, sex occupies its sleeping and waking hours, sex suffuses the mind and usurps the dream. There is no escape.

The delirium tremens of sex gives rise, as we have pointed out, to the metaphysical despair of our generation. To be obsessed with sex, it seems, is to be truly alive; to deny the body is to sign a covenant with death. Life is opposed to death, sexuality to false spirituality. It is the overestimation of the value of sex, which yields to the feeling of despair. This despair, nihilistic in its rejection of culture, was evident in the early work of Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*. To concentrate all feeling, all energy, in the genitalia is to renounce all those values which historic experience has shown to be precious and specifically human. Sex as salvation implies that ideals and aspirations do not exist. The world of the spirit is portrayed as a bloodless world of phantom abstractions, whereas the world of the flesh is substantial, real, radiant, supremely satisfying. What is wrong with all this is the crude identification of sex with love. *Farewell to Arms* makes love out to be a fraudulent social convention, a meaningless lie. Sex, not love, is the true symbol of union. Sex is spirit, sex is love, sex is creation. The cure for the temptation of sex, according to this earthy, Adamic philosophy, is to yield to it without shame. Go the whole hog and the obsession will die a natural death.

It needed but the test of collective experience to demonstrate the monstrous fallacy of this reasoning. The protest against hypocritical sexual restraints proved liberating and wholesome. The body could not bear the manacles which had been clamped down on its aching and rebellious flesh. But once the emancipation had been effected, the need for humanizing and socializing the sexual instinct should have been apparent even to the most revolutionary exponent of the new sexual morality.

For if the overestimation of the sexual function springs from the conviction that there are no ideals worth having, it results finally in a sickness of the soul that cannot be

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healed. Once the fever of lust is spent, what is left? There is no despair equal to that of the man who has given all to sex. Many writers in the past have described the void of emptiness in which they sank, the sense of utter wretchedness that overcame them, when they groveled before the shrine of Venus and worshipped no other gods. For sex is but one beat of the cosmic rhythm of life. To suppress it results in frustration, maladjustment, unhappiness. To suppress everything else in order to give it "free" expression exacts an even greater toll of suffering.

That is why Henry Miller's banned books, *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn,* despite their flashes of inspired brilliance, are so revolting. They are not revolting simply because the author (an expatriate, now returned to this country, who has been strongly influenced by the Laurentian cult) keeps on using the four-letter word which offends so terribly against Anglo-Saxon morality. His stories of sexual adventures, night and day, are not only repulsive but boring. His sex-mania betrays the emptiness of his soul. He has nothing important to say. There is nothing to live for except food and sex. As for the rest of the world, it doesn't concern him in the least. People? He observes them as if they were so many neurotic ants copulating on an anthill: their epileptic seizures of desire, their suffering, their ridiculous megalomania, their "spiritualized" ideals, their fears and diseases. The spectacle is highly diverting, but when they trespass on his inviolable ego, he brutally shakes them off. Let them live or die—what does it matter to him?

But of one thing he is sure: all feelings, all aspirations, all ideals converge and find their consummation in the despised sex orgasm. That alone is real and has the power to bring one in closer communion with the earth. The rest is rhetoric, the effluvia of literature. Henry Miller is convinced that for the past century our world has been dying, just rotting away, and all because men have been deceiving themselves too long with illusions. The deception cannot be kept up any longer. "When a hungry, desperate spirit appears and makes the guinea pigs squeal it is because he knows where to put the live wire of sex . . ." Henry Miller knows!

In the work of Robinson Jeffers, the California poet, morbid preoccupation with sex is joined to an obsession with the theme of death. D. H. Lawrence sought to glorify the carnal instincts. Jeffers beholds in sex the loathsome power which turns man into a beast. Sex deprives man of freedom, robs him of peace. Its consummation brings no lasting relief. Sex drives humanity mad; it is the source of diabolical cruelty, of hatred and disease and perversion. Only in death does the body find release from desire. Hence sex is the essential cause of tragedy. It lures men to their destruction. Sexual union, in Jeffers' poetry, is the prelude to death. Pan-sexualism ends in unadulterated, titanic pessimism.

The exploitation of the mystery of sex is a thriving literary industry. The advance-guard writers have

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simply cashed in on its possibilities. The recipe is old, though new spicy ingredients have been added from time to time. The Surrealists, like Salvador Dali, in their exploration of the unconscious, achieve their most sensational imagery by playing variations on the erotic motive. The sexual theme is rendered more fruitful for literary treatment by the revival of interest in the secrets of perversion.

In the aftermath of war, particularly in the period of intense anxiety generated by the realization that the culture of the West may be wiped out by atomic warfare, the cult of pan-sexualism may again be looked upon as the road to salvation. (It is significant that women writers have on the whole played but a minor role in this movement.) War breaks down the moral inhibitions that civilization imposes. The young who have spent years amidst scenes of blood and death are liable to find the process of social adjustment painfully difficult, especially if the conditions of peace do not live up to their expectations. Then like their fathers after the war, they may begin to wonder whether the war had not been fought in vain. In the bitterness of their disillusionment they may reject all ideals as so many civilized lies and fall back on sex as the only reality.

The indulgence in sex for the sake of sex is, like every other form of excess, a sheer perversion. Those who are tempted to play this game should bear in mind that it has been tried numerous times in the history of the race and each time with disastrous results. The sex-fevered moderns have themselves borne testimony to the unhappy effects of surrendering to the sex mania. The price for such indulgence is restlessness, a sense of unfulfilment, neurasthenic pessimism. Those who have no other aim in life except promiscuous fornication are inviting the furies of nervous breakdown. Man does not live by sex alone. If we have lost our integrity, we shall certainly not recover it by celebrating the orgiastic potentialities of the sexual instinct. Modern literature, by supporting this cult, has gone off on the wrong track. Writers like Hemingway, Theodore Dreiser, D. H. Lawrence and Henry Miller are not purveyors of pornography; they are serious, highly talented, imaginative creators but they have gone to extremes in their exploration of sex. It is time to call a halt.

America is still the land of opportunity, where a man can start out digging ditches, and wind up behind a desk—if he doesn't mind the financial sacrifice.

—*Kansas City Star*

* * *

During last winter's coal crisis in England, the British government, which uses advertisements extensively to warn, instruct, or pacify the populace when new crises or ration orders impend, gave this eyebrow lifting counsel to the nation's businessmen: "Owing to the shortage of fuel, employers are asked to take advantage of their typists between the hours of 12 and 2."

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

THIS has been an eventful month in the theatre. After a slow start, the theatre found itself with several successes and had virtually established its pattern within a few weeks. The successes were *Command Decision, The Heiress,* the Maurice Evans revival of *Man and Superman,* and the musical drama, *Allegro.* The pattern was formed by these plays and a number of other ventures, including the usual unsuitable imports from England, a race-track comedy, an undramatic verse play, a Negro drama, a social drama, and a diverting standard musical comedy, *High Button Shoes.*

The play worth the closest scrutiny is *Command Decision* by William Wister Haines because it departs most flagrantly from the formulas supposed to ensure success. It is completely devoid of romance, and there isn't a woman in the cast. War plays were supposed to be drugs on the market, as the second World War was allegedly something the public wanted to forget. Moreover, by democratic consent the standard war play, if it was to be acceptable at all, was expected to deal with the common man. Violating these canons, as well as foregoing the inverted romanticism of *Journey's End,* the play with which it can be most reasonably compared, *Command Decision* details the struggles of a brigadier general who tries to knock out Germany's production of jet-propelled fighter planes before they can wrest the command of the air from the democracies. To accomplish this he must send bombers into the heart of Germany without fighter plane protection. The cost is frightful. Since Brigadier General Dennis is not a callous officer, his anguish and his wrestling with his conscience are fearful. His most conspicuous conflict, however, is with the higher brass who want to play a safe game, rolling up scores of easy coastal targets to impress Congress. Members of that august body actually come to investigate the situation when the commander's bomber losses mount to staggering figures. Between him and the uncomprehending politicians stands Major General Kane, his commanding officer and comrade of those

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early years when the airfleet was still the stepchild of the armed services. Kane throws him to the wolves when Dennis insists on continuing the attacks and Congress can no longer be appeased. But the less single-minded and opportunistic Brigadier General Garnett replaces him only to discover the logic of his predecessor's tactic. He vindicates Dennis by ordering another bomber attack on the jet-fighter factories, and Dennis is ordered to the Pacific sector to command the B-29 assaults on Japan.

Told coldly, *Command Decision* may seem a formidable and unattractive drama. The reverse is true, however, because of the crisp power of the dialogue, the contrasting characterizations, and the suspensive and mounting complications. More impressive than any single quality of the script is its uncompromising realism. Even the humor that relieves the grimness of the proceedings, the comedy of such routine matters as rape-charges and bootlegging whiskey, is sultry. The author makes no attempt to gloss over the fact that entire crews are treated as expendable, and that Dennis is called upon to choose, on his own responsibility, between the evil of heavy bomber losses and the greater, if less immediate, evil of losing control of the skies. This unsentimental calculation is matched by complete freedom from sentimentality in the play. The flyers are neither mourned nor glorified as chivalric knights of the air, and the author has dared to expose hero-making as dangerous in the case of a young officer who refuses to go on another mission after he has been glorified by the airforce's publicity department. If there is any indictment of war in the script, it will be found in the fact that war entails such gambling with men's lives. Within the narrow compass of its stark theme, *Command Decision* makes gripping and provocative drama. It is the first war play of stature to emerge from the recent holocaust. If it will hardly be counted among the important or great plays of our time, because it remains so fixedly on the ground of fact and irradiates it only slightly, its force is more than sufficient for the day.

Kermit Bloomgarten's production is perhaps an even more gratifying achievement than the bare text. John O'Shaughnessy has directed with unfaltering pace, right emphasis and exquisite shading. Paul Kelly plays Dennis with contained force and appropriate doggedness, and adds to his characterization a dimension of stoical anguish. A brooding austerity crowns his performance, and gives eloquence to the mute implications of this tragedy of expendability. Jay Fasset portrays the major-general with admirable versatility, emphasizing the man who knows how to play ball with the politicos but who more than suspects that Dennis is right. Like the actor who plays Polonius, he is called upon to convey a personality unadmirable in its time-serving facets yet not altogether fool and lickspittle, casting a shadow of former intelligence and vigor. James Whitmore, the technical sergeant who carries the humor, makes his points with telling economy. Both his sarcasm and tom-

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foolery stay in character and are appropriate to the tones of this serious play. He actually manages to bring us closer to its center through his wry loyalty to Dennis and contempt for the waterflies who harass his commander.

Perhaps it is sufficient to say of this sterling production that it refutes two standing but dubious charges—the claims that realism is a dated technique and that the haphazard methods of Broadway vitiate the art of play production. How does Broadway manage to present us with such integrated productions and such completely meshing performances in spite of combining players who have not worked together season after season in a variety of plays? This is a miracle that Broadway manages to perform again and again, apparently by dint of sheer vigor and enterprise.

Such a miracle is also appanent in the Jed Harris production of *The Heiress* by Ruth and Augustus Goetz, a free dramatization of Henry James's *Washington Square*. So muted a novel does not lend itself to dramatization easily, and a transposition of values must take place before it becomes theatre. Something grosser, something more emphatic, must, and does, result. Something is lost in the process and the substitution of values is not particularly captivating when, in the final scene, the heiress shuts her doors on the suitor who had once jilted her and whose renewed suit she invites and encouarges in order to revenge herself. The play is, in truth, an amalgam of disparate Jamesian and Broadway elements, of the latter's delicate genre and psychological drawing and of theatricality. It is the production by the inimitable Jed Harris that pulls the parts together, unifying them in mood and style with the assistance of the excellent British actress Wendy Hiller, who moves from one scene into another with her character intact as Catherine Sloper. She is ably assisted by Basil Rathbone, who plays her father, Dr. Austin Sloper, with impeccable control; by Patricia Collinge, who gives dimension to the heroine's scatterbrained aunt, Lavinia Penniman; and by Craig Kelly who performs silkily in the role of Catherine's suitor, Arthur Townsend. And here again the directorial hand of Mr. Harris is of prime importance because the story involving these characters could easily belong to the anti-macassar era. An heiress wooed by a money-seeking idler, jilted by him when her father threatens to disinherit her, and resigned to spinsterhood after inheriting wealth can only be made exciting by intense but outwardly circumspect behavior, and the director has managed to effect this difficult fusion. Understatement and emphasis are maintained in a nice balance. Jed Harris has ruled his actors wisely. He has changed the key of their feeling and the pace of their movement the moment their restraint verges on dullness or their feelings become too obtrusive for their condition and milieu. Wendy Hiller is particularly successful in alternating between eagerness and restraint, and between rebellion and submission.

Plaudits for the production should not, however, deprive the authors of

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compliments on their literate contribution. If they have not written a whole play, they have written at least two-thirds of one, and a very good two-thirds at that. They have made the frustration of Catherine Sloper hauntingly touching. We are not supposed to care much for the plight of heiresses in this embattled age. Not many of us are going to shed tears for the miserable lot of the idle rich. But the authors have pitched their drama on a psychological level that displays the mainsprings of human nature. Catherine Sloper may be wealthy, and she contributes nothing to society, but she is the victim of tragic bedevilment. She has become shy and awkward not so much because she is plain but because her father, who lost his wife when Catherine was born, has resented his daughter and has always compared her unfavorably with her mother. He suspects the motives of suitors because he cannot imagine his daughter's attracting any young man. He puts obstacles in the way of her marriage to Arthur Townsend, and he is proved right after the young fortune-hunter jilts her. But before her father dies, Catherine has discovered the elusive fact that has crippled her personality; she has learned at last that her father has had only contempt for her. That is why he destroyed her illusion that she was being loved by Arthur for herself. And she is not grateful for his having saved her from Arthur. Since it took her 20 years to discover that her father did not love her, it might have taken as much time to discover that Arthur had not married her for herself. She might have had at least 20 years of happiness in her illusion. The unity, as well as the meaning, of *The Heiress* lies in this original conflict between daughter and father, and not in any maudlin story of how an heiress was desired only for her money. The authors have not brought us to the Washington Square of the 1850's to recapture a vanished age and to give us a Victorian variant on a *Woman's Home Companion* story.

Dear Judas was originally a poem by Robinson Jeffers and was adapted by its producer Michael Meyerberg, who is a man of taste and imagination. Efforts to explain the conduct of Judas have always attracted probing individuals. There is a strong temptation to explain Christ's betrayer on other grounds than the malice of human nature. Jeffers' explanation is that Judas remained Christ's most devoted follower so long as Jesus remained a humble humanitarian but turned against him when Jesus assumed authority, began to dictate to his people, and fomented a hopeless insurrection against the Romans that would have cost many lives. This notion could have served as well as any other for a poetic play, and it did provide some glowing moments especially toward the end of the drama. That the play failed rather distressingly is the result of woeful mismanagement of the adaptation for the stage, which sacrificed flow of action to jagged little situations and only infrequently lucid rhetoric. The production, which was arty and perversely stylized, with masked characters and extraneous Bach chorales, was also

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in default. An unconventional interpretation of the gospels is under a special obligation; it must move us or enlighten us to such a degree that we are compensated for the temporary suspension of the biblical convention. The theme is too great for shenanigans.

Theodore Ward's *Our Lan* treated another potentially stirring theme in its story of how a group of emancipated southern Negroes tried to build a community of free and equal workers and were tricked and ousted after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Although reviewers who saw a semi-professional performance of this drama downtown returned with glowing reports, their response to the Broadway production was understandably reserved. In spite of excellent acting and singing by Muriel Smith and William Veasey, the play suffered from ragged dramaturgy and from a rather effete scheme of alternating scenes and spirituals for which Eddie Dowling's directing was responsible. Mr. Dowling is too astute a director to be condemned for wilfully murdering a masterpiece. It is my suspicion that he discovered the shortcomings of the play and tried to compensate for them. That the compensations of pictorial effect and spiritual singing were not gratifying is, nevertheless, indisputable. The play required a stark presentation, with hope and bitterness as the dominant tones. The Broadway production made *Our Lan* less impressive and less of a play, its episodes being of such a meager nature that only a rapid succession of them could have created an effect of packed excitement. Mr. Dowling's production kept us waiting from scene to scene during the singing and his scenic effects dwarfed the situations.

In *How I Wonder*, Donald Ogden Stewart attempted to dramatize the university liberal's continual struggle with reactionary trustees and cowardly administrators, the hero in this case being an atomic scientist who realizes the dangers of atomic warfare. Fearing that the subject was dry and possibly also suspecting that it entailed academic stereotypes, Mr. Stewart resorted to fantasy and endowed his professor with a cynical *alter ego* and an encouraging planetary spirit in the shape of a beautiful woman. The scientist wrestles with the temptation to toe the mark and play safe for the sake of wife and child, but his idealism wins the day at last and his family rallies to his support. Mr. Stewart also attempted to relieve the tedium with domestic, as well as celestial, comedy. The result was *pastiche,* offensively cute at times, and at best only mildly stimulating. The best of intentions and the worst of taste went into this play, which even Garson Kanin's able direction, the appealing Abraham Lincoln personality of Raymond Massey in the idealistic professorial role, and Everett Sloane's inspired miming of the *alter ego* could not make acceptable. The most difficult genre for moderns is the morality play, and contemporary playwrights would be well advised if they steered clear of it.

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Appraisal

I who have made a virtue and a skill
Of compromise, defending it as a mean,
Though less than golden, among various goods,
A resolution of conflicting goods,
A goal and measure of maturity,
Find myself guilty in this young man's eyes
Looking at me out of a prison sentence.
I do not ask why he is there. I know.
The asking is all his. The man condemned
Condemns the man too safe, the man too wise.
Even the straight clean parting of his hair
Crosses my most felicitous compromise.
He looks at me asking me do I dare.
Looking at him I think that I could dare.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

Museum Birds

These birds that do not fly, though poised to fly,
Or having flown, have just this moment lighted,
The wings unfolded still, over the eggs
That, though they will not ever hatch, are safe
From hawks and snakes and owls, weazels and squirrels—

These birds, feathered as life, yet having escaped
At once life's fever and death's dissolution,
Untouched by frost, sleet, snow, rain, wind, heat, hail,
Warrings of many kinds, old age, disease,
The threat of hunger, the perils of migration—

These birds, balancing lightly on green twigs
That never will be anything but green,
Guarded by glass from dust, Times's fingerprint—
Have they not something to be said for them?

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

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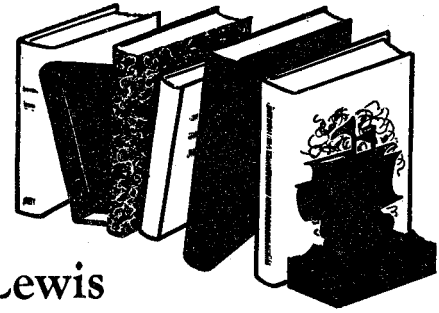
BOOKS In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

PLAIN TALK ABOUT WORLD AFFAIRS

LOUIS FISCHER has written some interesting things about world affairs, based on his extensive world travels, and in his present book, *Gandhi and Stalin,* (Harper's, $2.50), he has performed an added service. He takes these two leaders as symbols of two types of ideology, two ways of life. Fischer knows Gandhi, and his admiration and respect are clearly expressed, primarily for Gandhi's high principles, and secondarily for his personality. Stalin is portrayed as an able and ruthless leader whose principles, if any, are, of course, exactly opposed to Gandhi's.

Through a discussion of the characteristics of the two, Fischer ably and conclusively shows the potential influences at work in India and Russia. The portraits of the two men are drawn in terms of their attitudes toward mankind in general and their own nationals in particular. Of still greater import, however, are Fischer's comments on the present world problem, bluntly stated as communism on the one hand and democracy on the other. There is apparently only self-delusion on the part of those who still seek "One World." Fischer says: "The combination of dictatorship and nationalism has destroyed the early internationalism of Soviet domestic and foreign policies." Fourteen years of living in Russia entitle Fischer to credit for knowing whereof he speaks. He is not afraid of a little state socialism mixed in with capitalism—T.V.A. or Lend-Lease. But Russia is not an example of socialism, but of ruthless totalitarianism.

He makes clear that it is not necessary to have a majority of Communists in a country to control it. In any nation, it is the predominating middle class that weighs the scale. Depression, resentment and other causes influence a nation's policy, as witness Britain's experiment with socialism. The danger is that, as in Germany, the masses will mistakenly give power to fanatics, who later entrench themselves and establish a dictatorship.

The alternative is not Gandhi's "spinning-wheel economy." It is more equal distribution of power and avoidance of monopoly. Fisch-

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er's suggestions for a cure are as applicable here as in Europe or Asia, and mostly concerned with greater security for the greatest number. Even the churches are at fault. Fischer quotes Gandhi: "I have noticed no definite progress in any religion. The world would not be the shambles it has become if the religions of the world were progressive."

Considering the vast power of Russia, made up of the Soviet domain in itself and its satellites in addition, Fischer points out that all Stalin has had to do is fill any vacuum in power as it appeared. In both Europe and Asia this has resulted in increasing influence. The way to stop her expansion is to fill the vacuums—that is, present democratic power instead. This does not mean war, but it means agressive democracy.

Fischer has an excellent chapter devoted to what democratic nations can do, without Russia's cooperation. In his opinion, as an answer to the Soviet's continued use of the veto in the United Nations, the democracies should band together, not against Russia, but in pursuit of their own ideals. "Democracy is under attack. Now is the time, therefore, to be more democratic, more moral, more Christian, more Gandhian." In other words, the famous military technique: the best defense is offense.

An international union of democracies, leaving out Russia, could accomplish much. There is, in Fischer's opinion, no present possibility of Russia treading the same path. Let the others then be militant for democracy. The United Nations, he believes, has already lost its chance, and the veto negatives its future. A new organization, with democracies only, might accomplish much in the way of inducing more settled economic and political conditions, and as it grew in power Russia's influence would wane. In the last analysis, some day Russia, too, might see the light—our light.

This is a plan for a campaign of ideals, backed by practical mutual assistance. It is not a guarantee against a third world war, but it has its merits, and is worth a trial. Fischer has presented the case fluently for the democracies. A Russian translation, circulated in the Soviet might accomplish more than have the conferences and congress.

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Revolt of Asia, by Robert Payne, (John Day Co., an Asia Press Book, $3.50), is an expression of the author's opinion that the "Asiatic Century" has begun. The revolution in Indonesia, its leaders, its aims and its results, are discussed from that standpoint. Here is a picture of Gandhi, Nehru and others, and the familiar ethnic problem more confused by political developments. Payne includes his views on Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Communists, and events in Korea, Burma, Malaya and the Philippines. There is much information about the people and the countries.

He concludes that the Asiatic

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countries have at last awakened, and from now on will develop and grow in power.

Another current book by Robert Payne, reviewing the past and the present of the giant that is China, is *China Awake,* (Dodd, Mead, $4.00). Written in the form of a journal and covering the years 1944 and 1946, Payne tells sympathetically of the agonies of the Chinese, spiritual and physical, in their struggles against the Japanese and against each other. His narrative is made alive by the Chinese he knew: scholars, professors and even beggers. He sees the Chinese longing to be free of all the past, of Americans too, and particularly of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, which in his opinion is reactionary and ignorant. No less for its interesting reading than for its light on the Chinese, it is a book to be recommended.

BIOGRAPHY

It would be simple to dismiss *Harry Truman,* a Political Biography, by William P. Helm, (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $3.00), as propaganda. Helm, a Washington newspaperman who became a close friend of Truman in his senatorial days, is undoubtedly sympathetic and sometimes eulogistic, possibly occasionally to excess. But there are enough intimate reports to justify Helm's appraisal of honesty and integrity of purpose, even if abilities and qualifications are missing. There are also some explanations of the doings in Washington among the leaders that are well worth reading, and also some exposures of cagey exploits in politics during the war.

A fitting companion volume is the history of Tom Pendergast and his dynasty in Kansas City. *Tom's Town,* by William M. Reddig, (Lippincott, $4.00), is the detailed, somewhat malodorous story of the rise of Boss Pendergast as successor to his brother Jim. Local politics first, then growing national power, culminating, one might say, in the candidacy of Truman for vice-president, give the record of a machine that spread its evil reputation with the years. Reddig, an editor on the Kansas City *Star,* tells the story matter-of-factly, without malice but with candor, and it is a tale that needed telling.

Tales Out of School, by John J. Espey, (Knopf, $2.50), continues the reminiscences of the author of his youthful days at school in Kuling, China, in 1924. Espey, an American born in Shanghai, tells about the white man's sector of China, the life of the foreigners, mostly British. It is boarding school life, with little action but lots of the imaginary adventure of boys and some of the snobbery typical of such institutions. Espey has a light, whimsical touch that proves good reading.

MISCELLANEOUS

People and Power, a Study of Political Behavior in America, by Harvey Fergusson, (Morrow, $3.00), is not in the inspirational class but secures the same result by analysis of people, organizations and groups. Fergusson seems to be able to put into words some of the cardinal precepts for acceptable thought and living. "Every man talks best

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about what he does for a living" is something we know, but it is also a key to mental processes. Call it a book of simple essays on life, with some helpful suggestions.

Some of the underground machinations of the Chinese revolutionists against the old empire and the subsequent administrations are related in *Swords of Silence,* Chinese Secret Societies Past and Present, by Carl Glick and Hong Sheng-Hwa, (Whittlesey House, $2.75). It is full of Chinese intrigue and the white man's interference; the efforts of Trotsky to "help" the revolutionists, and the troubles of Sun-Yat-sen and Chaing Kai-shek. The book fills in the background of present day China.

For lovers of the printed page, *Late City Edition,* by Joseph G. Herzberg and Members of the *New York Herald-Tribune* Staff, (Holt, $3.00), is decidedly an interesting volume. Here is the story of the how, why and what of the making of a daily newspaper, particularly the news columns. How the reportorial, reference, reviewing and other critical departments are organized and function is made clear to the reader. It is a mystery story of newspaperdom, with clues, action and humor, to make a likeable book.

A lesson in the ethics of American business and relations between management and labor is to be found in *Or Forfeit Freedom,* by Robert Wood Johnson, (Doubleday, $2.50). Johnson heads the large hospital supply company and should know something about those topics. His viewpoint embraces the problem of job and worker, and the importance of training and mutual understanding. He makes some modest suggestions for improving employer-labor relations, with a distinctly optimistic preference for the American system against that of the Marxians.

A study in psychology, well, that sounds dull, so say a study in human nature; that is the basis of *The Judge's Story,* by Charles Morgan, (Macmillan, $3.00). It is superior fiction, the plot rather unimportant save as a foundation for the structure of its people. The story of two oppositive, positive characters, one good and one evil, and their influence on two lesser persons, unfolds subtly and smoothly. It is set in England, but is not a typical English novel; Morgan's style is distinct from the run of English authors.

Adversary in the House, a Biographical Novel, by Irving Stone, (Doubleday, $3.00), is a fine piece of work. It is the story of the life of Eugene V. Debs, Socialist standard bearer for so many years, and the title describes Debs' wife. Stone makes the reader sympathetic to the wife's troubles, in the face of the sacrifices necessary for a man with a mission. Debs' career, his battles for his principles, are well described. The domestic picture is as intense as realism can make it. Fellow-travelers of leftist tendencies should read Debs' conversation with Daniel de Leon, head of a group then called the Socialist Labor Party. That is a lesson for today.

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As a returning British plane went over the House of Parliament, the steward called out: "Ladies and gentlemen, you are now passing over the Labor government. Tighten your belts, please."

—London Daily Telegraph

* * *

Swedes are shipping their clothes to New York by air for dry-cleaning. They get them back in five days. The air service is both faster and cheaper than what they can get at home. (We would be only too willing to finance some enterprising Swede who would like to establish a similar service for frustrated dry-cleaning patrons in the United States.)

* * *

During the Sunday sermon, a baby began to cry at the top of its voice. Its mother carried it toward the door. "Stop!" cried the minister. "Your baby is not disturbing me."

The mother turned toward the pulpit and addressed the preacher: "Oh, he isn't, isn't he? Well, you're disturbing him."

—Westerner

* * *

A young physician had been called to testify in a case which depended upon technical evidence, and the opposing counsel in the cross examination asked several sarcastic questions about the knowledge and skill of the witness. "Are you," he bellowed, "entirely familiar with the symptoms of brain concussion?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then I will ask your opinion of a hypothetical case. Were my learned friend, Mr. Banks, and myself to bang our heads together, would we get concussions of the brain?"

The young physician quietly answered, "Mr. Banks might."

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FORUM FEATURES

In **The Negro and The O.P.A.** and **The Japanese Came Back,** FORUM contrasts our handling of the minorities problem. Victoria Schuck, chief program analyst and consultant of the O.P.A., shows that equality for all racial groups was the declared policy of the O.P.A. from its inception. By the constant efforts of its staff and its consultants, this policy was effectively carried out. Thus, to those who maintain that "equality can't be enforced by the government," we point to the hard-won success of the O.P.A.

Ed Ritter, a former teacher in the high school at Tule Lake Relocation Center, retells the hysterical tale of our imprisonment of the Japanese in concentration camps and of their return to a hostile West Coast. Justice, let alone equality, for the Japanese has yet to be granted by Congress. That the Japanese remained loyal and are now, like the Negro, determined to win their rightful place in our society is the most encouraging aspect of any otherwise disheartening episode in our national life.

If the only thing you know about food prices is that they're going up, read this month's forum: "Are Subsidies Increasing Food Prices Now?" Carol L. Thompson maintains that subsidies are unnecessary in this market and that the taxpayer not only pays more for his food, but pays for paying more through taxes. Grace Cook counters with the obvious point that prices are so high that the payment of subsidies is, in many cases, not needed and that the farmer has been unfairly singled out as the scapegoat for rising prices.

Although the President vetoed the bill for a National Science Foundation, the issue demands the attention of the new Congress. FORUM presents a Senate debate on whether the money to be appropriated by Congress will go to the large, established centers of scientific research like M.I.T. or whether it will be distributed among the states to be used to encourage scientists in smaller universities and colleges. Underlying this question is the real issue: Shall such power as the grant would confer be concentrated in the hands of a few men?

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